

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, June, 1890.

THE AMAZONIAN TYPE IN POETRY.

In the preface to my second edition of the poem of 'Judith' I have said: "The conception, so familiar in European literature, of the woman in arms, magnanimous in the council-chamber and the field, is always, I believe, primarily and essentially Germanic, whether found in VIRGIL or SPENSER, in ARIOSTO or TENNYSON." Having hazarded this statement, I can not escape the responsibility of at least endeavoring to substantiate it.

The mention of VIRGIL at once suggests the heroic figure of Camilla, and the account of her exploits in the Eleventh Book of the 'Æneid' (II, 648-663): "But in the midst of the slaughter exults the Amazon, with one side bared to the fight, Camilla girt with a quiver; and at one time she throws in quick succession the tough spears with her hand, then unwearied she seizes in her right hand a strong axe. Golden is the bow that rattles on her shoulder, she wears the arms of Diana. She too, if ever driven back she retires, shoots arrows in her flight, turning her bow to the foe. But around her are her chosen comrades, both the maiden Larina, and Tulla, and Tarpeia shaking her brazen hatchet, daughters of Italy, whom divine Camilla chose for herself to be her glory, good handmaids both in peace and in war. As when in squadrons the Amazons of Thrace trample Thermodon's frozen stream, and war in painted arms, either around Hippolyte, or when martial Penthesilea returns in her chariot; amidst the cries of the mighty throng the female bands exult with their crescent shields."*

CONINGTON, in his edition of VIRGIL (2, xxxv) seems scarcely able to decide from what materials VIRGIL framed his conception. He says: "Mr. GLADSTONE has remarked with justice that, while HOMER's women are uniformly feminine and retiring, VIRGIL's are slightly masculine and generally of a pronounced type; they are agitated by violent passions and meet with violent ends. This is ascribed by an able critic in a weekly journal to VIRGIL's experience of his own age, when, for the first time in Roman history, women came upon the stage of public life: it is, I think, no less due to the influence of the actual stage of Attica. . . . They occupy in-

*LONSDALE and LEE's translation.

dividually a large portion of the drama, sometimes, like Io or Electra, as sufferers, sometimes, like Clytæmnestra or Hecuba, as actors rising to masculine importance. VIRGIL may have had actual precedents, in history or fiction, for the characters of Dido, Amata, Juturna, and Camilla: but even if he had not, his recollections of Greek art must have been amply sufficient both to suggest the thought and to guide the pencil." But why should not VIRGIL's own indications suffice? In the passage above Camilla is once called the Amazon in a figure of speech, and again is compared to two great Amazonian leaders in an elaborate simile. Does not this warrant us in concluding that it was the Amazons whom he had in mind? Surely the parallel is much closer between Camilla and these warrior maidens than any that can be drawn between her and the heroines of Greek tragedy.

Britomart is the type of SPENSER's warlike women, and shall be introduced in the midst of a knightly encounter, the language being modernized ('F. Q.' 3. 4. 16):

But she again him in the shield did smite
With so fierce fury and great puissance,
That, through his three-square scutcheon piercing quite
And through his mailed hauberk, by mischance
The wicked steel through his left side did glance;
Him so transfixed, she before her bore
Beyond his croup, the length of all her lance;
Till, sadly sousing on the sandy shore,
He tumbled on an heap, and wallow'd in his gore.

SPENSER's own thought about the originals upon which the character is based may be deduced from the beginnings of Cantos 2 and 4 of Book III ('F. Q.' 3. 2. 1, 2; 3. 4. 1, 2):

Here have I cause in men just blame to find,
That in their proper praise too partial be,
And not indifferent to woman kind,
To whom no share in arms and chivalry
They do impart, ne maken memory
Of their brave gestic and prowess martial:
Scarce do they spare to one, or two or three,
Room in their writs; yet the same writing small
Does all their deeds deface, and dims their glories all.

But by record of antique times I find
That women wont in wars to bear most sway,
And to all great exploits themselves inclined,
Of which they still the garland bore away;
Till envious men, fearing their rule's decay,
Gave coin straight laws to curb their liberty:
Yet, sith they warlike arms have laid away,
They have excelled in arts and policy,
That now we foolish men that praise give eke t'envy.

Where is the antique glory now become,
That whilom wont in women to appear?
Where be the brave achievements done by some?
Where be the battles, where the shield and spear,
And all the conquests which them high did rear,
That matter made for famous poets' verse,
And boastful men so oft abashed to hear?
Been they all dead, and laid in doleful hearse?
Or do they only sleep and shall again reverse?

If they be dead, then woe is me therefore;
But if they sleep, O let them soon awake!
For all too long I burn with envy sore
To hear the warlike feats which Homer spake
Of bold Penthesilea, which made a lake
Of Greekish blood so oft in Trojan plain;
But when I read, how stout Deborah strake
Proud Sisera, and how Camill' hath slain
The huge Orilochus, I swell with great disdain.

SPENSER then has Camilla in mind, the queen of the Amazons her prototype, and the Deborah of the Book of Judges. The two former reduce to the one Amazonian type, as we have already seen, and the latter I had in mind in the sentence of my preface next following that quoted above, where I said: "But this conception, native to the Germanic race amid European peoples, was no doubt powerfully reinforced and elevated by the influence of Hebrew poetry and history."

SPENSER was greatly indebted to ARIOSTO, and it was perhaps the opening stanzas of the Twentieth Canto of the 'Orlando Furioso' that he imitated in the passages quoted above. These stanzas run thus in ROSE's translation:

Great feats the women of antiquity
In arms and hallowed arts as well have done,
And of their worthy works the memory
And lustre through this ample world have shone.
Praised is Camilla, with Harpalice,
For the fair course which they in battle run.
Corinna and Sappho, famous for their lore,
Shine two illustrious lights, to set no more.

Women have reached the pinnacle of glory,
In every art professed by them well seen:
And whosoever turns the leaf of story,
Finds record of them neither dim nor mean.
The evil influence will be transitory,
If long deprived of such the world has been;
And envious men, and those that never knew
Their worth, have haply hid their honors due.

Our chief authority for the derivation of ARIOSTO's Marfisa and Bradamante is PIO RAJNA, in his valuable work entitled 'Le Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso.' From this book we will cull the extracts which may seem

necessary in order to place fact and theory in their true light. He has been speaking of the womanly women of ARIOSTO, and thus proceeds:

"Costoro, o buone o malvagie, sono femmine in tutto e per tutto. Ma nei nostri romanzi tiene pure un luogo cospicuo un tipo che sta come di mezzo tra il femminile ed il maschile: la donna guerriera. E il Bojardo e l'Ariosto ce ne presentano due esemplari ben distinti, in Marfisa e in Bradamante" (p. 41).

Professor RAJNA then refers to the theory of PAULIN PARIS, that the type is first found in an Old French romance of comparatively late date, the warrioress in which is named Aye. He then continues: "Secondo me, non è esatto il dire che il tipo sia il medesimo. Marfisa, Bradamante, sono donne guerriere; invece Aye è una femmina costretta per un concatenamento di casi a mentire il sesso, e a farsi credere uomo" (p. 41).

Nor are they to be confounded with gigantes: "Similmente non si confonderanno le donne guerriere colle gigantesse, le quali appartengono a una razza speciale, che in qualche modo si può dire intermedia tra l'uomo e la bestia" (p. 42).

He then considers the possibility of their derivation from actual women, such as the history of the Middle Ages tells of, but this also he rejects: "Ma neppur questa derivazione è la vera. Al più al più coteste eroine potrebbero avere avuto qualche efficacia come cause occasionali; chè l'arte non si procaccia con una laboriosa trasformazione e idealizzazione del reale ciò che preesiste di già nel suo mondo fantastico. E le donne guerriere preesistevano difatti, ed erano famigliari a tutte le menti sotto altri nomi. Ognuno vede che intendo parlare delle Amazzoni, popolarissime sul declinare del Medio-Evo, soprattutto in grazia delle storie trojane. E ci sarà forse bisogno di rammentare a chi legge la Teseide del Boccaccio? Nè l'azione delle Amazzoni fu solo diretta. Il tipo della mitologia greca aveva avuto un riflesso nel poeme di Virgilio. A Penthesilea dobbiamo Camilla, guerriera senza amori, come la nostra Marfisa, ch'io non dubito di chiamare sua figliuola ideale. Marfisa è un' invenzione del Bojardo; ma assai prima di lei il nostro romanzo cavalleresco aveva accolto altre figure del medesimo genera, quasi tutte derivate, in ultime analisi, dallo stesso ceppo greco-latino" (p. 44).

In establishing the origin of these characters in ARIOSTO's poem, Professor RAJNA has confirmed the results already reached for VIRGIL and SPENSER. To TENNYSON a

simple reference will suffice. He mentions many famous women of all ages and countries in "The Princess," but more especially refers at the outset to certain mediæval heroines, of whom an account is given in chronicles of that period. Whether or not there be any foundation in fact for this allusion, the literary tradition with which he was perfectly conversant is that which is already before us, and this must have powerfully influenced the poet in the composition of "The Princess." Even if we should suppose that TENNYSON had actual, historical women in mind, these women may have been in one sense a product of the romantic poetry which we have been considering. The Middle Age idealized its own deeds: fact speedily became enveloped in the gorgeous hues of fiction, and fiction sought to realize itself in fact; the chivalric romances moulded the characters of the knight, the lady, and the page; and adventures were undertaken in emulation of the exploits renowned in song.

The literary tradition which so long prevailed was primarily, as we have seen, the tradition of the Amazons. Our inquiry therefore resolves itself into this: Whence sprang the idea of the Amazons? Two theories respecting them are found in PRELLER's 'Griechische Mythologie' (3d edition): according to the one they were the attendants of the Ephesian Diana, and hence of Asiatic origin; according to the other they would represent women of the Northern race or races with which the Greeks had come in contact, the Scythian Amazons of ÆSCHYLUS and HERODOTUS. It is to the latter of these that the author inclines, and this view is even more decidedly held by a later writer, quoted in a footnote to the posthumous edition of the work. To quote from PRELLER (2: 85-61):

"Diese kriegerischen Frauen, die in grossen Schaaren als Umgebung der Mondkönigin auf wilden Rossen einherstürmen, machen in solchen Fabeln ganz den Eindruck eines wilden Heeres am Himmel, eines Heeres von Stürmen und Wolken, das den unheimlichen Eindruck der asiatischen Mondgöttin nicht wenig verstärkt. Bald ist daraus eine Umgebung von kriegerischen Hierodulen geworden, wie wir sie im Gottesdienste der Artemis von Ephesos und anderen Gegenden Kleinasiens kennen gelernt haben, bald das bekannte Bild einer kleinasiatischen Bevölkerung, wie in den Sagen von Kämpfen der Phryger und

Lyder mit den Amazonen. Häufig veranlasste zu solchen Localisirungen die kriegerische Weise roher Völker, bei denen die Frauen unter den Männern kämpften oder sie zum Kampfe begleiteten, anderswo die den Asiaten und Griechen unbekannte Gynækocratie (Herrschaft von Königinnen) oder überhaupt die freiere und selbstständigere Stellung des weiblichen Geschlechtes bei nördlichen Völkern. Indem sich solche Bilder den Griechen mittheilten, wurden sie durch diese zu festen Vorstellungen der mythischen Völkerkunde, die man von den Gegenden am Kaukasos bis in den hohen Norden verfolgen kann."

The footnote referred to is as follows [i, 254]: "O. KLÜGMANN, 'Über die Amazonen in den Sagen der kleinasiatischen Städte,' *Philol.* 30, 524 ff. leugnet eine nähere Beziehung der Amazonen zu der ephesischen Göttin oder zu der von Komana; die Stiftung des ephesischen Cultusbildes, die die Legende durch die Am. geschehen sein liess, sei vom Ursprung des Cultes selbst wohl zu trennen und letzterer nicht auf die Amazonen zurückzuführen, auch hätten sie den Dienst der Göttin auf ihren Zügen nicht verbreitet; in Ephesos erschienen sie als flüchtige, im T. der Artemis Schutz suchende Kriegerinnen. Der Grund der Amazonensage seien Erinnerungen an die mehrfach in Asien vorgedrungenen nordischen Völker und deren kriegerische Weiber."

It was noticed above that ÆSCHYLUS and HERODOTUS speak of Scythian Amazons. The latest writer on the subject of the Scythians identifies them with the Germans (FRESSL, 'Die Skythen-Saken die Urväter der Germanen,' München, 1886). His chapter on the position of women among the Scythians will therefore be of interest here. After quoting several passages from ancient authors he continues (I normalize his extraordinary orthography): "Aus diesen wenigen Beispielen, wobei ich absichtlich das ganze Heer der amazonischen Sagen übergehe um der schlichten Wahrheit desto näher zu bleiben, sehen wir, dass skythische Frauen die Zügel der Regierung ergreifen und sie so glänzend führen, dass sie die Könige rings umher demüthigen und dadurch ewigen Ruhm erlangen. Aber diess kommt nicht von Ungefähr; denn ihre ganze Erziehung ist darnach angethan und eine förmliche Vorbereitung dafür, jeder Zeit und in allen Lagen des Lebens den Mann zu vertreten und zu ersetzen. Von Jugend auf nämlich theilen diese Frauen Leben und Kriegsgefahren ihrer Männer. Unter diesen Umständen ist nichts natürlicher als dass sie gegebenen Falles im Kampfe selbst die Lücken der fallenden Helden ausfüllen und

vom Kampfesfeuer hingerissen in die Schaaren der Feinde dringen, welche durch die in der Schlacht ungewöhnliche Erscheinung vorerst schwanken, dann aber wirklich geschlagen werden. Diese einmal erwachte weibliche Kampfbegier wirkt aber anstehend nach innen, furchtgebietend nach aussen, und da ist es denn kein Wunder, wenn solche Heldinnen als Amazonen verherrlicht und mit einem fabelhaftem (!) Schimmer allmählich umgeben werden, obwohl es dabei mit ganz natürlichen Dingen zugeht. Aber hier dürfen wir wieder einmal nicht mit den Augen der alten Kulturvölker die Sachlage uns betrachten. Weder Griechen noch Römer konnten eine solche Stellung, sagen wir lieber Gleichstellung der Frau mit dem Manne begreifen, weil sie sie selber nicht kannten, da die Frauen bei ihnen durchweg eine untergeordnete Stellung einnahmen. Wenn sie nun bei den Skythen die Frauen nicht bloss mit den Männern gleichberechtigt, sondern mit denselben in den Krieg ziehen, sich in das Kampfgewühl stürzen und auch nach Verlust der Männer ihre Staatsangelegenheiten selber ordnen sahen, so musste das nach damaliger Anschauung als etwas Ausserordentliches erscheinen, und es konnte nicht ausbleiben, dass die Sage solcher Vorkommnisse sich bemächtigte und nach ihrer Weise ausschmückte. Wir aber müssen in der skythischen Frau zwar ein der Zeit nach fernes, aber den Thatsachen nach desto wahrhaftigeres Spiegelbild des germanischen Weibes erkennen, welches, seit germanisch gedacht wird, eben dadurch hervorragt, dass es nicht die Dienerin, sondern die Genossin des Mannes ist, welche mit demselben nicht nur die Aufgaben des Friedens löst, sondern mit ihm alle Beschwerden und Gefahren theilt, mit ihm in das Feld zieht und hinter der Schlachtlinie sich aufhält, um die ihrigen stets von da aus geistig anzuspornen, körperlich zu erquicken, die Verwundeten zu pflegen, sowie die Gefangenen entgegenzunehmen, wie aus Taciti Germ. c. 7, histor. 4, 18, aus Strabo c. 294, aus Plutarch Mar. c. 27 und aus dem I. Merseburger Zauberspruch zu ersehen; oder sich selber dem Feinde entgegenstürzt nach Plutarch Mar. c. 19, Tacit. Germ. c. 8; oder endlich gleich von vornherein nach Mannes Art gerüstet am Kampfe Theil nimmt, wie Dio 71, 3 und Vopiscus im Aurel. c. 34 erzählen. Und somit sind selbst die nordgermanischen Valkyrien nur ein andere mit Zuthaten versehene und vergöttlichte Wiedergabe der einstigen skythischen Amazonen" (FRESSL, pp. 62-3).

In the Alexandrian period it would seem that the example of the German women had even affected the Greeks, manifesting itself first of all perhaps at the Macedonian court, though Spartan and Oriental customs may

have contributed powerfully to the total result (cf. ROHDE, 'Der griechische Roman,' pp. 62-5).

We have thus traced the martial heroines of SPENSER and ARIOSTO (and, one might add, the Clorinda of TASSO as well), back to the Germanic women reflected in the pages of TACITUS, in the 'Nibelungen Lied,' and in the Trilogy of WAGNER. The weakest link in the chain is of course the absolute identification of the Amazons with the warlike women of the Teutonic race, but the testimony in favor of such identification can hardly be overthrown, especially if due emphasis be laid on the (at least proximate?) Asiatic origin of the Scythians, as is done in the preface to FRESSL's book, where he says: "Asien ist die Urheimath der Skythen oder Urgermanen, sowie der gesammten Arier."

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THE PARALLELISMS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON "GENESIS."

Since the publication of HÖNNCHER's investigation into the sources of the "Genesis," in which with accurate and numerous data he not only corroborates SIEVERS's theory that the lines 321-851 are an interpolation from the Old Saxon "Heliand," but also proves that the Vulgate is the only source from which the author of "Genesis" directly drew, better opportunity has thus been given for the study of this poem in its relation to other Anglo-Saxon poems. The "Genesis" has long held the best claim to be entitled a work of CÆDMON, because its introductory verses so closely resemble the genuine Cædmonian lines quoted by BEDA. This circumstance alone attaches special interest to an examination of the poem's phraseology.

BALG's attempt to attack the unity of the "Genesis," excluding, of course, the acknowledged interpolation from the "Heliand," is not convincing. His statement that the poem is the work of several authors, a collection, perhaps, of single poems treating of the lives of the patriarchs, demands little credence from one that has followed HÖNNCHER's careful presentation of the poet's method in employing the Vulgate.

The method here pursued is to present (1) the parallel passages between the "Genesis" and "Beowulf"; (2) between the "Genesis" and the so-called Cædmonian Poems; (3) between the "Genesis" and the so-called Cynewulfian Poems.

"GENESIS."

2. wuldorcynning
2. wordum herigen
17. 112. 925, etc. ecean drihtnes
19. firena fremman
21. soþ and riht
31. worde cwæþ
38. hearde niðas
40. dreama leas
49. 1446. him seo wen ge Leah
61. grap . . faum folmum
90. werige gastas
106. idel and unnyt
115. strangum mihtum
126. sigora waldend
154. ofer foldan
204. geond hronrade
203. land tredaþ
225. nean and feorran
236. ne wyrþ me wilna gad
238. sædon . . þanc
241. stiþferhþ cynning
242. on sande
269. mægyn and cræft
275. nis me . þearf
280. wundra gewyrcean
299. wearþ gebolgen
315. on uhtan
321. godes hylðo
324. hatne heaðowelm . . brade ligas

333. leohtes . and liges
353. { weoll him on innan hyge
 { ymb his heortan
364. sorga mæst
367. wesan him on wynne
373. hearde clommas
374. fæste befangen
383. heardes irenes
391. us god . forswapen
402. on aldre
409-10. maðmas . . forgeafe
418. windan on wolcne
424. mid rihte
442. godes andsaca
448. leolc on lyfte
451. mid mandædum
459. metod man-cynnes
468. liðe and lofum
485. dreamas and drihtscipes
486. lifes niotan
489. langre hwile
498. feorran gefered
570. to soðe sægst
584. wæs seo hwil þæs lang, þæt

SARRAZIN, in his 'Beowulf-Studien,' collected a partial list of parallelisms, to which KAIL (*Anglia* vol. xii) has also contributed. To complete the subject in hand, it has been thought best to add their examples to these comparisons:

"BEOWULF."

2796. wuldur-cyninge
3177. wordum herge
1692. 1779, 2330, etc. ecean dryhtne, etc.
101. fyrene fremman
1700. soþ and riht
2046. word acwæþ
2171. niða heardum
850. dreama leas
2323. him seo wen ge Leah
2086. grapode gearo-folm
133. werigan gastas
413. idel and unnyt
1844. mægenes strang
2875. sigora waldend
1196. on foldan
10. ofer hronrade
3019. el-land tredan
1175, 2318. nean and feorran
661. 949 ne biþ þe wilna gad
1809. sægde . . þanc
2567. stiþmod . . bealdor
295, etc. on sande
418. mægenes cræft
2494. næs him . þearf
930. wyrcean wunder æfter wundre
1539, etc. wæs gebolgen
126. on uhtan
671. metodes hylðo
{ 82. heaðowylma bad, laðan liges
{ 2819. hate heaðowylmas
728. lige . leoht
2714. { him on breostum . weoll,
 { attor on innan
2328. hyge-sorga mæst
2014. wæs on wynne
964. heardan clammum
1296. fæste befangen
1112. iren-heard
477. hie Wyrð forswæop
1779. on aldre
2640. maðmas geaf
1119. wand to wolcnum
2056. mid rihte
787. godes andsaca
2832. æfter lyfte lacende
563. manfordædlan
110. metod . . man-cynne fram
3184. liðost and lof-geornost
99. arihtguman dreamum
681. aldre be-neotan
16, etc. lange hwile
839. feorran . feran
51, etc. secgan to soðe
83. was hit lenge þa gen, þæt

"GENESIS."

586. *purh holdne hyge*
 595. *þæt is micel wunder*
 624. *lað . . . lufe*
 635. *geweald hafað*
 642. *halig dryhten*
 677. *utan and innan*
 695. *gearwe wiste*
 697. *nearwan nið*
 735. *murnan on mode*
 737. *þreaweorc þoliað*
750. *mod wesan bliðe*
 789. *godne grettan*
 793. *grædige and gifre*
 810. *scineþ . . sunne*
 824. *wine min Adam*
 864. *rice þeoden*
 905. *wide siþas*
 921. *hearde genearwad*
 927. *eðel secean*
 927-8. *secean, wynleasran wic*
 941. *wædum gyrede*
 955. *to frofre*
 962. *eard and eðyl*
 957. *grundwelan ginne*
 983. *freomæg . . broðor sinne*
 997. *nales holunge*
 1020. *wurde to feorhbanan*
 1021. *winemagum*
 1027. *on wenum*
 1029. *feor oððe neah*
 1039. *fah gewitan*
 1041. *aldre beneoteð*
 1046. *mid guðþræce gretan dorste*
 1061-2. *wocan bearn*
 1068. *forð gewat*
 1071. *æðelinga gestreon*
 1071-2. *aldorgedal . . sceolde*
 1079-81. { *hearpan . . hlyn awehte,*
 { *swinsigende sweg*
1102. *grimme gryre*
 1126-7. *þas woruld . ofgyfan*
 1129. *eðelstol heold*
 1135. *niðða bearna*
 1167. *on laste*
 1173. *mine gefræge*
 1175-6. *lifde . and . breac . . woruld—gestreona*
2353. *wintrum frod* }
 1194. *frod wintres* }
 1205. *deaðe swealt*
 1111. *of . lænan life feran*
 1216. *woruld of geaf*
 1231. *heold . . teala*
 1244. *mægðe geond middangeard*
 1252. *mægð scyne*
 1268. *gigantmægas gode unleofe*
 1288. *ellen dohte*
 1320. *wintra worn*
 1345. *on . hof gangan*

"BEOWULF."

267. *purh holdne hyge*
 771. *þa wæs wundor micel*
 511. *ne leof ne lað*
 79. *geweald . hæfde*
 686. *halig dryhten*
 774. *innan and utan*
 878. etc. *gearwe ne wiston*
 2351. *nearo . niða*
 50. *murnende mod*
 284. { *þreanyd þoliað*
 1419. { *weorce on mode, to geþolianne*
 436. *sie . . modes bliðe*
 347. *godne gretan*
 1498. *heorugifre, grim and grædig*
 606. *sunne . . scineþ*
 457. *wine min Beowulf, etc.*
 1210. *rice þeoden*
 878. *wide siþas*
 1439. *hearde genearwod*
 520. *gesohte . eðel*
 822. *secean wynleas wic*
 1441. *gyrede . . eorl-gewædum*
 14. *to frofre*
 2198. *eard eðel-riht*
 1552. *gynne grund*
 1263. *angan breðer, fæderen-mæge*
 1076. *nalles holinga*
 460. *wearþ . . to hand-bonan.*
 65. *wine-magas*
 2895. *on wenum*
 2870. *feor oððe neah*
 1263. *fag gewat.*
 680. *aldre beneotan*
 2735. *guð-winum gretan dorste*
 60. *bearn . . wocun*
 1479. *forð-gewitenum*
 1920. *æðelinga gestreon*
 805. *scolde his aldorgedal*
 { 88. *hearpan sweg*
 { 611. *hlyn swynsode*
 { 3023-4. *hearpan sweg . weccan*
 2136. *grimme gryrelicne*
 1681. *þas woruld ofgeaf*
 2371. *eðelstolas healdan*
 1005. *niðða bearna*
 2945. *on last*
 776. etc. *mine gefræge*
 { 1062. *worulde bruceþ*
 { 1953. *lif-gesceafta lifigende breac*
 { 2240. *long-gestreona brucan*
1724. etc. *wintrum frod*
 3037. *wundor-dea ðe swealt*
 2845. *ende gefered lænan lifes*
 1681. *woruld ofgeaf*
 2208. *geheold tela*
 74. *mægðe geond . middangeard*
 3016. *mægð scyne*
 112. *gigantas, þa wið gode*
 572. *ellen deah*
 263. *wintra worn*
 1974. *to hof gongan*

"GENESIS."

1363. heofonrices weard
 1371. dūgeðum dyrum
 1383. oðer swilc
 1383-4. reðe, wællgrim
 1385-6. feorh of flæschoman
 1396. halig god
 1414. under swegle
 1414. soð metod
 1417. for famig scip
 1422. holm-ærna mæst
 1429. on sunde
 1430. wonne yða
 1446. him seo wen geleah
 1487. fæger on foldan
 1509. ara este
 1519. wildu deor
 1528. mid mundum
 1532. weaxað and wridað
 1532. wilna brucað on eorðan
 1534. foldan sceatas
 1555. niwan stefne
 1574. werum and wifum
 1607. heold . rice
 1608. breosta hord
 1625. dogora . rim
 1632. mægen and strengo
 1673. for wlence
 1702. weox . under wolcnum
 1735. eðeltyrf
 1742-3. forð . . methodscaft seon
 1769. gumcystum god
 2544. him þæs lean forgeald }
 1808. him þæs lean ageaf }
 1819. wæs þæt . to strang
 1821. hornsele hwite and hea
 1820-2. geseah—blican
 1836. feorren cumenra
 1838. feore gebeorgan
 1840. swa he ær dyde
 1844. ellenrof eorl
 1857. sinces brytta
 1890. wunedon . . wicum
 1931. wunden gold
 1937. ecne unræd
 1972. bennum seoce
 1978. gombon gieldan
 1991-3. { brugdon . . hringmæled sweord
 } ecgum dihtig
 2005. weold wælstowe
 2005-6. gewat . . fæsten secan
 2008. þa sæl ageald
 2028. wære weorce on mode
 2038. on wæl feallan
 2062. scylda and sceafta
 2066. þær hlihende huðe feredon
 2078. golde berofan
 2137-8. gewurðod, dome
 2192. beorhte scinan
 2212. steape stanbyrig
 2248. beddreste gestah
 2334. rices hyrdas
 2335. wide mære

"BEOWULF."

1390. rices weard
 487. deorre duguðe
 1583. oðer swylc
 122. grim . . . reðe
 2424. feorh . flæsce bewunden
 380. halig god
 1078. under swegle
 1611. soð metod
 1909. for, fleat famig-heals
 78. heal-ærna mæst
 1618. on sunde
 1373-4. yð-gebland . . . won
 2323. him seo wen geleah
 866. foldwegas fægere
 2378. estum mid are
 1430. wil-deor
 1461. mid mundum
 1741. weaxað and wridað
 950. gad worolde wilna
 95. foldan sceatas
 2594. niwan stefne
 993. wera and wifa
 465. heold gimme-rice
 1719. breost-hord
 824. dogora dæg-rim
 1270. mægenes strengre
 338. for wlenco
 8. weox under wolcnum
 409. eðel-tyrf
 1180. forð . methodscaft seon
 1486. gumcystum godne

 114. him þæs lean forgeald
 133. wæs þæt . to strong
 80-1. sele . heah and horngeap
 220-1. gesawon—blican
 360. feorran cumene
 1548. gebearh feore
 1891. swa he ær dyde
 3063. eorl ellenrof
 607. sinces brytta
 3083. wicum wunian
 1193. wunden gold
 1201. ecne ræd
 2740. feorhbennum seoc
 11. gomban gyldan
 1286-7. { sweord . . . ecgum dyhtig
 } hringmæl gebrægd
 2051. weoldon wælstowe
 2949. gewat . . . fæsten secean
 1665. þa . sæl ageald
 1418. wæs weorce on mode
 1070. in . wæle feallan
 3119. scild-weall, sceft
 124. þanon . huðe hremig . faran
 2931. golde berofene
 1645. dome gewurðad
 1517. beorhte scinan
 2213. stanbeorh steapne
 677. on bed stige
 3080. rices hyrde
 898. wide mærost

"GENESIS."

2342. wiste gearwe
 2349. dages and nihtes
 2357. swa þu bena eart
 2431. cynna gemunde
 2445. in under edoras
 2448. com . on last
 2452. geonge and ealde
 2462. æðelinga gedriht
 2470. ylða bearnum
 2476. þinceð gerisne
 2532. bearn . and bryd
 2535. eorl mid idesum
 2537. under burhlocan
 2542. weallende fyr
 2544. lange þrage
 2557. fyr . . forswearh eall }
 2548. lig eall fornam }
 2554. efne swa wide swa
 2560. frea mid þy folc
 2571. drihtnes domes
 2572. þæt is wundra sum
 2575. mid ærdæge
 2578. wælgimne rec
 2605. wine druncen
 2666. folces weard
 2670-1. handa sweng
 2708. þeoden mæra
 2757. milde on mode
 2761-2. word-beot . . gelæsted
 2771. weox and þah
 2782. beaga weard
 2791. weorce on mode
 2792. soð metod
 2811. wið freand oððe feond
 2814. is wide cuð
 2827. gesceapu healdeð
 2844. swegle under
 2855. ad gegærwan
 2857. sweordes ecge
 2858. leofes lic
 2860. fýsan to fore
 2865. grægan sweorde
 2866. egesa . wunode
 2877. hlifigan hea
 2895. swa him gemet þinceð
 2905. sword be gehiltum
 2906. stille gebad
 2916-8. medum, ...sigorleanum
 2919. ginfæstum gifum
 2920. þæt þe wæs leofra
 2933. sægde leana þanc
 2934. sið and ær

In comparing the "Genesis" with the so-called Cædmonian poems, "Exodus," "Daniel," "Crist," and "Satan," the conclusions made by BALG seem to gain confirmation. GROTH reported, from his examination of the parallelisms between the "Genesis" and

"BEOWULF."

2339. wisse . gearwe
 2269. dages and nihtes
 352. swa þu bena eart
 613. cynna gemyndig
 1037. in under eoderas
 2944-5. com . on last
 71. geongum and ealdum
 117. æðelinga gedriht
 150. ylða bearnum
 2653. þynceð . gerysne
 2956. bearn and bryde
 1649. eorlum and . idese mid
 1928. under burhlocan
 2881-2. fyr . weoll
 54. longe þrage
 1122. lig ealle forswearh
 1223. efne swa side swa
 2357. frea-wine folces
 441. drihtnes dome
 1607. þæt was wundra sum
 126. mid ærdæge
 2661. wæl-rec
 1467. wine druncen
 2513. folces weard
 1520. hand swenge
 2572. mærum þeodne
 1230. modes milde
 523-4. beot . . gelæste
 8. weox . . . ðah
 922. beah-horda weard
 1419. weorce on mode
 1612. soð metod
 1864. wið feond ge wið freond
 2923. wæs wide cuð
 3084. heoldon . gesceap
 1078. under swegle
 3137. gegiredan . . ad
 1107. sweordes ecg
 2080. leofes monnes lic
 1805. fuse to farenne
 2681-2. sword . . grægmæl
 1261. wæter-egesan wunian
 81-2. hlifode heah
 688. swa him gemet þince
 { 1575. be hiltum
 { 2987. swyrd hilted
 301. stille bad
 { 1021. sigores to leane
 { 2146-7. leanum, . . . mede
 1271. ginfæste gife
 2751. þæt me is micle leofre
 1810. sægde . . leanes þanc
 2500. ær and sið

the "Exodus," that the diction of the latter bears the closest resemblance to the "Beowulf;" but after the "Beowulf" to the "Genesis;" and least of all to the Cynewulfian works. He had been preceded by GÖTZINGER, who, though not always employing the fullest proof

possible arrived at the conclusion that the "Genesis" was written later than the "Exodus" or the "Daniel," not however by many centuries. The "Exodus" is assigned by GROTH to the eighth century, to a place between the "Beowulf" and the "Andreas;" while the "Daniel," according to HOFER, possesses a vocabulary of the classical period and is thus classed as a work of the middle of the eighth century. In his opinion, the resemblance of the "Daniel" to the "Genesis" is so close that not only should it be re-

"GENESIS."

1. rodera weard
2. wereda wuldorcynning
2. wordum herigen
5. frea almihtig
7. ecean dryhtnes
10. wide and side
11. wuldres bearnum
13. engla preat
15. þegnas . þeoden
- 24-5. of siblufan godes ahwurfon
33. ham . heofena rices
50. heofena heahcynning
63. yr on mode
75. susl þrowedon
81. duguða mid drihtne dream habbendra
88. on godes rice
89. beorht and geblædfast
95. swegltrorhte seld
97. halig god
99. eorðe and uproder
113. helm eallwihta
104. wida grund
122. lifes brytta
126. sigora waldend
134. sidne grund
144. lifes weard . . .
151. heahrodor
154. ofer foldan
155. mare mergen
175. lifes leohtfruma
193. metod alwihta
197. eorðan ælgrene
- { 225. nean and feorran
- { 1029. feor oððe neah.

garded that the poems are contemporaneous, but also that the author of "Daniel A" was most intimately acquainted with the "Genesis."

ZIEGLER also states that between the "Daniel" and the "Genesis" there exists the closest relationship as regards tone and expression of the narration, so close, indeed, that the assumption of one author for both poems has nothing to oppose it. But he does not speak so confidently of the poems, entitled by GREIN "Crist," and "Satan."

"CÆDMON."

- { Sat. 612. rodera weard
- { cri 134. id.
- { Dan. 30g. wereda wuldorcynning
- { Ex. 547. weroda wuldorcynning
- { Sat. 661. wordum herigað
- { cri. 430. wordum hergen
- { Dan. 378. frea mihtig
- { cri. 395. frean ælmihtiges
- { Dan. 360. ecne dryhten
- { cri 396. ecan dryhtnes
- { Ex. 427. widdra and siddra
- { cri 394. wide and side
- { Sat. 699. wid and sid
- Sat. 587. wuldres bearn
- cri 738. engla preat
- Sat. 662. þegnas ymb þeoden
- Dan. 630. ahwearf in godes gemynd
- Sat. 216. ham in heofonrice
- Dan. 408. heahcynning heofones
- Dan 210-11. bolgenmod . . yrr
- { Dan. 621. susl þrowede
- { Sat. 41. susel þrowian
- Sat. 19. dreamas . duguðe and geþeode
- Sat. 368. in godes rice
- { Dan. 500. beorht on blædum
- { Sat. 415. beorhte blæda
- Sat. 589. seld sweglbefalden
- { Ex. 71. halig god
- { Sat. 56 halig god
- { Ex. 76. eorðan and uproder
- { Cri. 1129 eorðan . and uprodor
- Cri. 410. helm alwihta
- Dan. 301. widne grund
- Cri 334. lifes brytta
- { Ex. 16. sigora waldend
- { Sat. 218. id.
- Cri 785. sidne grund
- Cri. 1643 lifes weard
- Dan 236 of heah rodore
- Ex. 396. after folean
- Ex. 346. morgen mære-torht
- Dan. 409. lifes leohtfruma
- Dan. 14. metod alwihta
- Cri. 1129. eorðan ealgrene
- { Ex. 1. feor and neah
- { Cri. 390. feor and neah

"GENESIS."

242. on sande
 260. heofnes wealdend . on þam halgan stole
 265-6. scene, hwit and hiowbeorht
 269. mægyn and cræft
 305. on þa deopan dalo
 311. allmihtig god
 321. godes hylde gelæstan
 353. weoll . . ymb his heortan
 374. fæste befangen
 400. mægen wihte aþencan
 403. monna bearnum
 418. windan on wolcne
 442. godes andsaca

 455. godes handgesceaft

 459. meotod mancynnes
 468. liðe and lofsum
 476. on þone hean heofon
 489. to langre hwile
 515. gumena dryhten
 527. whitesciene wif

 545. heah rice
 595. þæt is micel wundor
 596. ece god
 603. heofon and eorðe

 639. wuldres aldor

 642. halig dryhten

 642-3. hefonrice . . widbradne
 718. helle and hinnsið
 735. murnan on mode
 793. grædige and gifre
 864. rice þeoden
 867. wæda leasne
 917. lað leodsceaða
 928-30. on wræc hweorfan . . duguðum be-
 dæled
 929. nacod niedwædla
 941. wuldres weard

 955. him to frofre

 962. eard and eðyl

 978. cyning eallwihta

 1027. wean on wenum
 1078. gleawne geþanc
 1102. mid grimme gryre
 1116. him þæs þanc sie
 1157. weard and wisa
 1173. mine gefræge
 1180. land and leodweard
 1182. eorl . æðele æfæst hæleð
 1205. deaðe swealt
 1211. lænan life
 1263. geteled rime wintra

"CÆDMON."

- Ex. 302. on sande
 Cri. 555. on heahsetle heofones walden
 Dan. 337-8. ælbeorht, whitescyne wer
 Dan. 328. cræft and meaht
 Cri. 1532. on þæt deope dæl
 Sat. 288. ælmihtiga god
 Dan. 219. æ godes . gelæste
 Ex. 148-9. heaðowylmas heortan getenge
 Cri. 1158. fæste bifen
 Dan. 145. meahte . . wihte aþencean
 Ex. 395. manna bearn
 Ex. 80. wand afer wolcnum
 { Ex. 502. godes andsaca
 { Sat. 191. id.
 Ex. 492. handweorc godes
 { Dan. 36. moncynnes metode
 { Sat. 64. meotod moncynnes
 Cri. 914. lufsum and liðe
 Ex. 460. heah to heofonum
 Dan. 661. lange hwile
 Dan. 613. gumena dryhten
 { Dan. 338. whitescyne wer
 { Cri. 493. weorud whitescyne
 Dan. 676. hea rice
 Dan. 604. þurh wundor micel
 Sat. 18. ece god.
 { Ex. 426. heofon and eorðe
 { Sat. 56. heofnes and eorðan
 { Ex. 270. wuldres aldor
 { Cri. 8. wuldres ealdor
 { Dan. 12. halig dryhten
 { Cri. 348. halga . dryhten
 Ex. 556. brade rice
 Sat. 456. hellegrund, hinsidgryre
 Ex. 535. murnað on mode
 Sat. 32. gredige and gifre
 Dan. 109. rice þeoden
 Dan. 634. wæda leas
 Ex. 40. lað leodhata
 Sat. 120-1. { hweorfan . . wadan wræclastas
 { . . duguðum bedeled
 Dan. 633. nacod nyd-genga
 { Cri. 527. wuldres weard
 { Sat. 514. wuldres weard
 { Ex. 88. folce to frofre
 { Dan. 339. him . to frofre
 { Dan. 612. eard and eðel
 { Sat. 116-7. eard . . eðel
 { Sat. 616. cyning alwihta
 { Cri. 687. id.
 Ex. 213. wean on wenum
 Dan. 743. gleaw geþances
 Dan. 439. of þam grimman gryre
 Dan. 308. þæs þe þanc sie
 Dan. 566. weard and wisa
 Ex. 368. mine gefræge
 Ex. 57. land and leodweard
 Dan. 89. æðele cnihtas and æfæste
 Dan. 143. sweltað deaðe
 Ex. 268. lænes lifes
 { Ex. 372. geteled rime
 { Sat. 502. wintra gerimes

"GENESIS."

1290. helm alwihta
 1320. ymb wintra worn
 1363. heofonrices weard
 1411. weroda drihten
1414. soð metod
 1503. cuð dyde
 1534. foldan sceatas
1587. geoce gefremede
 1602. siððan his eaforan ead bryttedon
 1603. him wæs beorht wela
 1623. þa him cwealm gesceode
 1669. foremeahtige folces ræswan
 1673. wlence and . wonhygdum
 1666. burh geworhte
 1686. sped . ahton
 1696. his mihta sped
 1719. þa þæs mæles wæs mearc agongen, þæt
1724. wintra fela
 1734. metode gecorene
 1790. rume rice
 1818. drihtne gecoren
 1819. wæs þæt witu to strang
 1931. welan, wunden gold
 1960. þa ic . gefrægn
1961. fromne folctogan
 1983-4. se wanna fugel . deawig feðera
1985. hræs on wenan . . .
 1989. heard plega
 1898. heardum hearmplega }
 1999. feorh . . nergan
 2005. wæpna laf
 2030. þeownyd þolode
 2057. heardan handplegan
 2078. golde berofan
 2118. halegu treow
 2274. witodes bidan
 2311. tacn soð
 2332. lufan and lisse
 2349. dæges and nihtes
 2388. soð gelyfan
 2404. readum golde
 2439-40. þa to fotum . . hnah
 2474. þurh gemæne word andswarian
 2494. godes spellbodan
2542. weallende fyr
 2544. him þæs lean forgeald
 2571. drihtnes domes
2579. hie þæs wlenco anwod and wingedrync
2737. he wæs leof gode
 2777. wyrd geweard
 2853. gestigest . . hringc þæs hean landes
 2898. hrof hean landes
 2909. stille gelad

"CÆDMON."

- Cri. 274. helm alwihta
 Dan. 325. in wintra worn
 Ex. 485. hedfonrices weard
 { Ex. 8. weroda dryhten
 { Dan. 220. weroda drihtne
 { Sat. 198. werode dryhten
 Ex. 478. soð metod
 Dan. 196. cuð gedydon
 { Ex. 428. foldan sceatas
 { Dan. 502. id.
 { Sat. 3. id.
 Dan. 233. geoce gefremede
 Dan. 672-3. siððan . his aferan ead bryttedon
 Dan. 9. wæs him beorht wela
 Dan. 668. oðþæt him cwealm gesceod
 Dan. 667. foremihtig folca ræswa
 Dan. 678. wlenco . , oferhyd egle
 Dan. 609. burh þe ic geworhte
 Ex. 513. sped ahte
 Dan. 335. his mihta sped
 Sat. 501. þa wæs þæs mæles mearc agangen
 þæt
- Dan. 477. wintra feola
 Dan. 92. metode gecorene
 Dan. 611. rume rice
 Dan. 15. drihtne georeen
 Sat. 226-7. wæs . full strang . witu
 Dan. 673. welan, wunden gold
 { Ex. 98. þa ic . gefrægn
 { Dan. 1. gefrægn ic
 { Sat. 526. þa ic . gefrægn
 Ex. 14. freom folctoga
 Ex. 161-4. { herefugolas . . deawigfeðere,
 { wonn wælceasega
 Ex. 165. ætes on wenum
 Ex. 327. heard handplega
- Dan. 355. feorh nerigan
 Dan. 74. wæpna lafe
 Dan. 308. þeownyd (-ned, Grein) poliað
 Ex. 327. heard handplega
 Dan. 59. bereafodon . . golde
 Ex. 366. halige treowa
 Ex. 551. bad witodes willan
 Dan. 447. soðra tacna
 Dan. 340. lufan and lisse
 Ex. 97. dagum and nihtum
 Dan. 28. soð gelyfdon
 Dan. 59. readan golde
 Sat. 533. to fotum hnigon
 Dan. 362. cwædon . . ðurh gemæne word
 { Dan. 230. godes spelbodan
 { Cri. 336. godes spelboda
 Dan. 214. fyres wylm
 Ex. 314-5. him . . lean forgeald
 { Ex. 520. doma . drihten behead
 { Dan. 32. dryhtnes domas
 Dan 17 { hie wlenco anwod æt win-þege .
 18 { druncne geþohtas
 Ex. 12. he was leof gode
 Dan. 471. wyrd gewordene
 Ex. 385. heahlond stigon
 Dan. 442. heahne, hrof heofona rices
 Ex. 300. stille bad

KAIL in his study of parallelisms observes that the genuine works of CYNEWULF have more correspondences with works of other authors than among themselves. The same is true of the "Genesis" in its relation to the so-called Cædmonian poems. The diction of the "Genesis," as has been seen, is remarkably similar to that of the "Beowulf," next to which the "Andreas" occupies by far the most prominent place. It is significant that GROTH should have found the same to be true of the "Exodus," though this similarity partially depends upon the nature of the subject-matter, which called forth a greater number of stereotyped poetical forms of expression.

"GENESIS."

- 2. wereda wuldorcýning
- 2. wordum herigen
- 3. modum lufien
- 5. frea almihtig
- 7. ecean dryhtnes
- 10. wide and side
- 12. gasta weardum
- 16. sægdon . lof
- 18. synna . . fremman
- 21. riht and soð
- 22. engla weard
- 33. ham and heahsetl heofena rices
- 49. him seo wen ge Leah
- 50. heofena heahcýning
- 58. torhte tire
- 97. halig god
- 113. helm eallwihta
- 115. strangum mihtum
- 122. lifes brytta
- 126. sigora waldend
- 131. witebeorhte gesceaft
- 134. sidne grund
- 144. lifes weard
- 154. ofer foldan
- 175. lifes leohtfruma
- 187. gaste gegearwod
- 197. eorðan ælgrene
- 203. land tredað

This marked difference, confirmed by the following comparison of the "Genesis" with the "Andreas," agrees with the results of FRITZSCHE's thesis upon the "Andreas" and CYNEWULF, and with the general disposition to separate the "Andreas" from the genuine works of CYNEWULF. JANSEN adopts this assumption, in his discussion of Cynewulfian poetry. The "Andreas" has here been classed with the genuine poems for the sake of convenience and to enable the reader to keep in view the differences between the "Genesis" and the genuine Cynewulfian poems on one hand, and the "Andreas" on the other. The "Riddles" have not been considered.

"CYNEWULF."

- { An. 418. wuldorcýninges
- { El. 1321. id.
- Jul. 428. wuldorcýning
- { An. 1269-70. herede . wordum
- { El. 893. wordum heredon
- El. 597. mod lufað
- { An. 562. frea mihtig
- { El. 680. id.
- An. 721. ecan dryhtnes
- { An. 1639. wide and side
- { El. 277. side and wide
- El. 1022. gasta weard (=God)
- An. 1088. secgan . lof
- { An. 928. synne gefremedest
- { Jul. 380. synne fremman
- El. 390. soðe and rihte
- { An. 1101. engla weard
- { El. 1316. id.
- An. 1685. halgan ham heofena rices
- An. 1076. him seo wen ge Leah
- { An. 6. heofona heahcýning
- { El. 170. heofoncýning
- { Jul. 360. id.
- An. 1683. torhtlice tir
- { El. 679. halig god
- { An. 14. id.
- { An. 118. helm ælwihta
- { El. 475. helm wera, hlaforð ealra
- An. 162. strangum mihtum
- An. 823. lifes brytta
- El. 732. sigora waldend
- { An. 1439. wlitige gesceaft
- { El. 1089. beorhtan gesceaft
- { El. 1289. sidne grund
- { Jul. 332. id.
- El. 1036. lifweard
- An. 1526. ofer foldan
- El. 793. lifes fruma
- El. 889. gaste gegearwod
- An. 799. eorðan eallgrene
- { An. 803. mearcland tredan
- { El. 612. morland trydeð

"GENESIS."

208. neorxna wang
 225. nean and feorran }
 1029. feor and neah }
 226. gold and gymcynn
 238. ealles þanc
 244. leof gode
 255. weroda drihtne
 256. lof . . wyrcean
 269. mægyn and cræft
 280. wundra gewyrcean
 286. rofe rincas
 309. dæd and word
 311. ælmihtig god
 315. on uhtan
 323. wite þoliað
 324. hatne heaðowelm . . ligas
 340. drihtne dyre . . .
 353. weoll . . hyge ymb . heortan
 364. sorga mæst
 402. on aldre
 424. mid rihte
 459. meotod mancynnes
 462. waldend god
 498. feorran gefered
 515. gumena dryhten
 527. wlitesciene wif
 538. læstan. lare
 560. wordum hyran
 570. to soðe sægst
 596. ece god
 603. heofon and eorðe
 605. micel and mihtig
 638. dryhtna dryhten
 639. wuldres aldor
 695. gearwe wiste
 697. nearwan nið
 730. murnan on mode
 746. on hyge hearde
 750-I. mod wesā bliðe
 811. beorhte sunne
 879. hean hygegeomor
 917. lað leodsceaða
 927. eðel secean
 941. wuldres weard
 955. to frofre

"CYNEWULF."

- { An. 102. neorxna wang
 { El. 756. id.
 { An. 542. neh and feor
 { Jul. 335. feor oððe neah
 { El. 90. golde : gimmas
 { An. 1521. gimma cynn
 An. 1152. ealles þanc
 El. 1048. leof gode
 An. 1581. gode leof
 { An. 173. weoruda drihten
 { El. 897. id.
 An. 1482. lof . . wrohte
 El. 408. mægyn and modcræft
 El. 827. wundor . wrohte
 An. 9. rofe rincas
 An. 596. wordum and dædum
 { An. 76. ælmihtig god
 { El. 786. mihta god
 { An. 235. on uhtan
 { El. 103. id.
 An. 1416. þolian . . witu
 { An. 1544. lige, hatan heaðowælm
 { El. 578. hattost heaðowelma . . lig
 El. 292. dryhtne dyre
 An. 1711. æt heortan hyge weallende
 El. 977. gnornsorga mæst
 El. 571. on aldre
 An. 512. mid rihte
 { An. 69. meotud mancynnes
 { Jul. 436. id.
 El. 4. wealdend god
 { An. 265. feorran geferede
 { El. 993. id.
 An. 621. dryhten gumena
 { El. 72. wlitescyne
 { Jul. 454. seo wlitescyne
 { An. 1426. lare læstan
 { El. 368. id.
 An. 1169. wordum hyran
 { An. 618. secge. to soðe
 { El. 160. to soðe secggan
 Jul. 434. ecne god
 { An. 328. heofon and eorðan
 { El. 728. id.
 El. 597. þa myclan miht
 { An. 876. dryhtna dryhten
 { Jul. 594. dryhtna dryhtne
 An. 55. wuldres aldor
 { El. 1240. nysse. gearwe
 { An. 934. wast. gearwor
 El. 913. niða nearolicra
 An. 99. on mode. murn
 El. 809. on heardum hyge
 An. 1585. bliðe on mode
 An. 1250. beorht . sunne
 An. 1089. hean hygegeomor
 El. 1216. heane hygegeomre
 An. 80. laðra leodsceaðena
 An. 226. eðel secan
 El. 84. wuldres weard
 { An. 311. to frofre
 { El. 502. id.

GENESIS.

957. grundwelan ginne
 1068. gewat forð
 1078. gleawne geþanc
 1119. beorn ellenrof
 1129. eðelstol heold
 1173. mine gefræge
 1194. frod wintres
 1205. deaðe swealt
 1248. bearn godes
 1263. geteled rime
 1363. heofonrices weard
 1417. for famig scip
 1446. him seo wen ge Leah
 1468. gefeah bliðemod }
 1800. bearn bliðemod }
 1532. wilna brucað . on eorðan
 1603. beorht wela
 1609. gast ellorfus
 1669. folces ræswan
 1686. sped . ahton
 1709. hæleð higerofe
 1711. frea engla
 1818. drohtað secan
 1822. beorhte blican
 1857. sinces brytta
 1893. blædes brucan
 1910. rofum rincum
 1947. mundbyrde heold
 1961. fromne folctogan
 1964. on fultum
 2030. þeownyd þolode
 2100. freonda feascraft
 2137. gewyrþod . sigore
 2165-6. halige spæce trymede
 2301. fæle freoðoscealc
 2311. sigores tacn
 2329. godcunde gife
 2349. dæges and nihtes
 2357. swa þu bena eart
 2373. gleaw on mode
 2574. torhtum tacne
 2451. comon . . corðrum miclum
 2544. lean forgeald
 2566. mære spell
 2571. drihtnes domes
 2590. for frean egesan
 2641. synna brytta
 2737. leof gode
 2806. sweotol. and gesene
 2844. swegle under
 2859. ongann fisan
 2919. ginfæstum gifum

CYNEWULF.

- An. 331. ginne grund
 El. 636. forð gewitenum
 { An. 818. hygeþances gleaw
 { El. 807. gleaw in geþanc
 An. 410. bearn ellenrofe
 An. 176. eðel healdan
 An. 1628. mine gefræge
 An. 506. wintrum frod
 Jul. 125. deaðe sweltest
 { An. 560. godes bearne
 { Jul. 666. id.
 { El. 525. id.
 { An. 1037. geteled rime
 { El. 634. id.
 { El. 197. heofonrices weard
 { Jul. 212. id.
 An. 497. bat . . færeð famigheals
 An. 1076. him seo wen ge Leah
 An. 659-60. gefegon beornas bliðheorte
 { An. 106. willan brucan
 { El. breac willum in weorlde
 { An. 524. beorhtne boldwelan
 { Jul. 503. id.
 An. 188. gast . ellorfusne
 An. 619. folces ræswum
 El. 1182. ah . sped
 An. 1007. hæleð higerofne
 El. 1307. engla frean
 An. 1541. drohtað secan
 An. 790. beorhte blican
 El. 194. sinces brytta
 An. 17. blædes brucan
 An. 9. rofe rincas
 An. 1435. healde . mundbyrde
 An. 8. frome folctoga
 El. 1053. on fultum
 El. 770. þeowned þolian
 An. 1130. freonde feascraft
 An. 116. sigore gewyrþod
 An. 1420-1. þurh-halig word . . trymman
 El. 88. fæle friðowebba
 El. 85. sigores tacen
 El. 1033. godcunde gife
 El. 198. dæges and nihtes
 An. 348. swa ge bena sint
 An. 143. modes gleawne
 El. 164. tacne torhtost
 An. 1206. corðre mycle
 El. 274. cwoman . corðra mæste
 An. 387. lean forgilde
 { An. 816. mære spell
 { El. 970. mære morgenspel
 El. 365. dryhten geaf dom
 An. 457. for frean egesan
 El. 958. synna bryttan
 { An. 1581. gode leof
 { El. 1048. leof gode
 An. 565. sweotulra and gesynra
 { An. 98. under swegle
 { El. 75. id.
 { An. 1700. ongan . fisan
 { El. 226. id.
 Jul. 168. ginfæst giefe

The principal parallelisms, cited by KAIL, between Anglo-Saxon poetry and such continental documents as the "Heliand", the "Hildebrand's Lied", the "Muspilli", and the "Wessobruner Gebet," show that a thesaurus of formal expressions was a common heritage of the Germanic peoples, but, at the same time, reveal how inadequate the proof, drawn from such sources, for determining the authorship of a poem. Nor is it surprising that poetical expression should have been so stereotyped, when the very conception of poetical subjects and situations was formed more or less after the same model. Thus SARRAZIN, in his treatment of the relation of CYNEWULF to the "Beowulf", seems to work with a faulty hypothesis, for his whole theory of authorship rests upon the evidence of parallelisms.

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THE FISH AND THE FLOWER AS SYMBOLS IN MIDDLE-AGE MANUSCRIPTS.

It so happens that the initials of the words *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεὸς υἱὸς Σωτήρ*, which express the Christian creed in a markedly short manner, form the Greek word *ἰχθύς*=fish. It has been stated that *hence*, in the dark days of the Christian Church, the fish was used as a *secret* symbol by the professors of that Creed.¹ It may have been so; so much is clear, that in Scripture already the allusions to fish and fishers, as well as fishing nets, are numerous, *e. g.*, Matthew xiv, 19. These allusions point to an earlier symbolic employment than the time, for example, of NERO or of DIOCLETIAN.

To find that the fish was used as a symbol in the early centuries of the Christian Era, one has but to peruse such a work as that by the Benedictine PITRA² or that by *le Père*

¹ W. HERTZ, 'Die Sage vom Parzival und dem Gral' p. 19.

² 'Spicilegium Solesmense,' complectens Sanctorum Patrum Scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera . . . Curante Domino J. B. PITRA, O. S. B. Monacho . . . Parisiis 1852-1858, 4 vols.

CAHIER³, to find instances of it on many a page. See *e. g.*, PITRA vol. iii, page 555: "triginta circiter annulos annulorumque gemmas certe novi, quibus cur diffideam nulla ratio est, immo quorum longe maxima pars in dubia sinceræ antiquitatis præfer argumenta. In his solæ piscium et anchoræ imagines sunt insculptæ, adscriptis sæpe literis *ΙΧΘΥC*, addito interdum nomine *ΙΗCΟΥC*, vel *ΧΡΕΙCΤΟΥC* et monogrammata K nonnumquam litteræ *ΙΧΘΥC* cum boni pastoris, navis, columbæ, iisdem fere quæ jam Clemens olim Alexandrinus Christianorum insculpendis annulis monuerat, imaginibus conjunguntur." The age of these would seem to be the sixth or seventh century. On p. 558 he mentions some, of the years 238, 245, 353, 355, etc. They appear to have been found mainly in graves and on sepulchral monuments. Sometimes the inscription and the fish are reported to have been engraved by different persons.

In the same way we find in Scripture the germ of the Christ-worship under the symbol of a flower.⁴ "Ego flos campi" are words of Jesus; and see the prophesy in Isaiah xi, 1: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots." Besides indicating Christ, the flower was also used to symbolize the Virgin Mary. See for this PITRA ii, 397: "Flos significat Christum cujus vox in Canticis: Ego flos campi; Ha, Domine, quia tu es decor et decus mundi. Et nota, quod physici dicunt id quod purissimum est in arbore, vel in herba, transire in florem: quod Christo aptissime congruit, qui naturam humanam, sine omni culpa et motu culpæ, accepit vel assumpsit." And on the same page: "Flos significat beatam Virginem et Dei matrem Mariam: quod quum innumeris possum probare exemplis . . . etc.

These quotations will make it sufficiently clear that during the Middle Ages the fish and the flower were each used as a symbol of Christianity. It would be strange if the use of the symbols had been altogether discontinued in later times. What we certainly may expect is that they should gradually have

³ 'Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'Art populaire' . . . par le P. CH. CAHIER, S. J., Paris, 1867.

⁴ For other designations of the Son of God, see PITRA iii, pp. xii and xiii (Vita, Salus, Gigas, Ovis, Pax, Vitulus, Lapis, vitis, panis, A et Ω , virga, etc., etc.).

come to be applied in a slightly different way. As a matter of fact I am acquainted with but few cases of subsequent usage, and my object in writing this is to call attention to these symbols in connection with the hypothesis that I have to offer. I have been particularly struck by a note in a recent publication by R. FISCHER: 'How the Wise man taught hys sone.' One of the MSS. of this treatise (which is one of that class of which the 'Disticha Catonis' is the most characteristic representative) has the words "Amen quod Kate"; at the end and under these the drawing of a fish. This note drew my attention to the subject. The MS. in question has been published before by Dr. FURNIVALL (Early English Text Society, Extra Series viii, a collection of various treatises, and usually denoted by the title of the first of these: "Queene Elizabethes Ackademy"). Neither Mr. FISCHER nor Dr. FURNIVALL explains the allusion, which however, after what has gone before, will be found not to be so very obscure. A reference to Dr. FURNIVALL's edition revealed the interesting fact that this was not the only place where the fish occurs, as also that a flower was found used in much the same way. The passages are the following:

1. Under the words (FURNIVALL p. 47, ll. 105, 106):

*For' and pou any chyder be
Thy neyghbors wylle speke pee vylony,*

we find the drawing of a fish (see ib. p. 51).

2. *Ther'-for' all-mygthy god Inne trone,
Spede vs Alle, bothe euen and morne,
And bringe vs to thy hyghe blysse,
That neuer more fro vs schall mysse!*

Amen, quod Kate.

"With a drawing of a fish (? a jack) and a flower underneath," adds the editor, ib. p. 51.

3. *And Ihesu brynge vs to his blysse,
The chylde pat w[as] in bedleme borne.*

Amen, quod Kate.

⁵ Mr. FISCHER's publications form part of a series: "Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie," herausgegeben von HERMANN VARNHAGEN (Erlangen und Leipzig. A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchh. 1889). In a review of this series I have already briefly explained this passage, promising to deal with it more fully at some early date. By this article I redeem that promise. See *Le Moyen Age, bulletin mensuel d'histoire et de philologie*, Paris, 1890, No. 4.

"With a drawing of a fish underneath," ib. p. 55.

4. . . . *And euer to þi better luke pon A-
veylle þi hode.*

Under these words (p. 61) there is the drawing of a fish (cf. ib. 64).

5. (*Take A candell in þi hond Anon*), and
*hold hym lyght;
To he haue drownkyn' what he wyll, styll
by hym pon byde.*

Amen, quod Kate.

"With a sketch of a flower underneath" (p. 64).

Here we have the flower and the fish, but hardly in their pristine force. Let us examine these five cases. 1. The first is from a treatise: 'How þe goode wyfe taught hyr Dougter.' On the page where the fish is found there is no passage in connection with which it could have any symbolic meaning. 4. This is taken from "Stans puer ad mensam," as is also 5. Neither of these two can have any connection with the passages near which they are placed.⁶ With 2 and 3 (the latter is the passage quoted by Mr. FISCHER) the case is different. In either passage Christ is invoked. Here is my point. Could there yet be any hidden meaning in these symbols, not of course the one that we found for it as the original meaning, but a slightly different signification (see *ante*)? Surely we may expect a symbol to "wear off," as well as we find a change of meaning in a word, which is also but a symbol of ideas. In that case the fish and the flower would have come to be used as generally and vaguely connected with the name and invocation of Christ and the Holy Virgin. It would be tempting to go a little further yet and to assume that a general invocation of the heavenly blessing had become inherent in the symbol, so that a fish or a flower would, in course of time, have come to take the place of the well-known addresses to Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary which we find at the end (or at the beginning) of so very many mediæval religious poems.⁷ But this is perhaps going too far.

⁶ In the case of 4 and 5 there is, at the beginning of the poem, a passage of the character of those to which I shall have presently occasion to refer.

⁷ An instance that happens to occur to me is that of the beginning lines to 'Athelston' (*Engl. Studien* xiii, 331).

A special reason why I publish these notes in this periodical is that it is read by "all sorts and conditions of men."⁸ My readers who have doubtless inspected French and German MSS. may remember other instances.⁹ The matter seemed to me of sufficient importance to be made the subject of an investigation. Now that attention has been called to these drawings I may expect others to add more material to the scanty number of cases in point at my command.

The instances—few as they are—on which I base my hypothesis, are curiously enough all taken from one (15th c.) Oxford MS. (Ashmole 61). Autopsy of that MS. would perhaps reveal more cases.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF *cl* INTO *ȳ* IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

In his 'Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen' §§421 et seq. and §§487 et seq., MEYER-LÜBKE admits a difference of development between *cl* when initial and when medial. Initial *cl*, we are told, changed to *kly* and from this new sound either *ȳ* or *ky* developed in the usually accepted way. Medial *cl* followed the same line of change completely only in Roumanian, and in Italian with the exception of *-cli* (which passed through *-cl'i>ȳ*) and *cl-* (where *gl->gl'->ȳ* were the intervening steps). In the remaining part of the Romance speech-territory, however, *cl* went through changes similar to *cl*, that is, *cl>xl>ȳ>ȳ*. This theory is carried out by MEYER-LÜBKE in his characteristic scholarly manner, and sustained by an almost bewildering mass of material. But inasmuch as it is based upon

⁸ I am especially thinking of its European readers.

⁹ Just now, Prof. H. PIRENNE of this University calls my attention to an account of a fifteenth century MS. at Luxembourg. The last two lines of this MS. which, be it distinctly understood, treats of theological matters, read as follows:

Et est finis, sit laus et gloria ternis (sic!)
Explicit iste liber de pisce (?) Sum modo liber.

The point of interrogation shows that the writer of this account (BONNARDOT; see 'Archives des Missions,' 1889, p. 380) did not see the allusion. As I have not seen the MS. I can but guess that it may be another—very interesting—general application of the word *pisce*.

the analogy of the development of *cl*, which, as is well known, is itself a moot question, doubts may arise as to the necessity of making the distinction. It seemed to the writer that the question would be placed in its true light, if we correctly understood the first step in the development, that of *cl<kly*. It is quite possible to pronounce *c* and *l* in such a way that *c* is a true velar guttural (γ_{ob}),¹ and this was no doubt the pronunciation from which the svarabhaktic vowel developed in such words as PERICULUM for older PERICLUM. In popular speech, however, this vowel was early dropped, or, what is more probable, it was never developed at all; cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, l. c. §487. But the combination *cl^{vowel}* is a peculiar one. Standing as it does at the beginning of an increasing scale of resonances, *c* is especially exposed to the influence of the following sounds, and since *l* is pronounced in the front of the mouth, there will be a strong tendency at work to reduce to a minimum the distance between the places of articulation of *c* and *l*. That such a fronting did actually take place, is proved by the fact that grammarians found it necessary to guard against the pronunciation of *cl* for medial *tl*, a change which, for the rest, is a well attested fact in many languages; cf. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, MOD. LANG. NOTES iii, col. 126-130. In this combination, which is intermediate between *cl* and *tl*, the front of the tongue articulates against the hard palate somewhat above the alveolars (JESPERSEN's γo^g). If one tries to pronounce this sound by itself, it will be found that as soon as the closure is broken ($\gamma o^g > \gamma 2^g$), a parasitic *j* sound is heard.² The same sound is found as the first articulation in ITALIAN *ci* and *gi* (JESPERSEN §60), or in the common French pronunciation *piquié* for *pitié*,

¹ I take occasion to make use here of the phonetic transcription of JESPERSEN, 'The Articulations of Speech Sounds, represented by alphabetic symbols,' Marburg, 1889; cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES v, col. 172. The student of Romance philology owes an immeasurable debt of gratitude to the industry which could produce such a master-work as the Grammar of MEYER-LÜBKE, and I am sure that I am animated by the regard due from the beginner to the master. I merely wish to present a few difficulties which I experienced while studying the paragraphs in question, and it is but fair to confess that I am indebted in a large degree to the closer analysis of sounds made possible by the use of JESPERSEN's transcriptions.

cintième for *cinquième* (JESPERSEN §71). But since its acoustic effect, when followed by *l*, is more like *cl* than *tl*, we never find the reverse change (*cl* > *tl*) recorded. Thus the first step in the development was *cl*.³ This stage is still kept in certain Raetian dialects; cf. *tl̥r* Grd., *tl̥r* Abt., *tl̥r* Enn. (=CLARUS), GARTNER in GRÖBER'S 'Grundriss' i, p. 478, note 3; *tlàmè* (CLAMARE), *dlaca* (GLACIES), SCHUCHARDT, 'Voc.' iii, p. 83 cited by SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, l. c.

In *Publications* of the MOD. LANG. ASSOCIATION v, p. 56, the writer supposed that the thin off-glide after the *l*, which is attested by Latin grammarians (cf. SEELMANN, 'Ausprache des Latein,' p. 325) and which in tone-color approached *i*, was the primal cause for the development, as in case of *labial* + *l* and *ll*. In the case under consideration it might perhaps be added that the palatal nature of *cl* aided to produce the same result. *cl* changed to *ctly*, which is still found in some French dialects. In certain patois of the NORMAN we have *glleru*, *clloque*, GUERNSEY *clloque*: EGGERT, 'Entwicklung der Normandischen Mundart,' Z.f. R.Ph. xiii, p. 391; GUERNSEY *gllic*, *cllaou*, *cllichards* in two selections in the GUERNSEY dialect by CORBET, MOD. LANG. NOTES iv, col. 333 ff. The same sound is found in the canton Vaud, the upper valley of the Rhone, part of Savoy and Franche-Comté: MEYER-LÜBKE, l. c. §424. Port. goes one step further by dropping the *l*, and *cl* + *y* passes subsequently through *tʃ* > *tʃ̥* > *ʃ* (*chamar*). Tyrolese *tyau* (CLAVU) in the Cembra valley, *kyaf* in Vigo, *tyef* in Colle (MEYER-LÜBKE l. c. §423) still retain the original pronunciation *cl* + *y*, which can equally well be represented by *ky* or *ty*.⁴ In Italian *l* dropped as in Portuguese, but in the remaining combination *ky* (*cty*), the *y* was gradually raised to the value of a full vowel (as in *chiamare*), and, as a consequence, the position of *cl* was shifted somewhat back, so that it again became *k* (JESPERSEN'S *ɣohg*). In Spanish, on the other hand, a process of assimilation went on, the result of which was *ʃ*.

² *ɣohg* is a variety of *j* sound, JESPERSEN l. c. §105.

³ By *cl* I denote the sound spoken of here, JESPERSEN'S *ɣohg*.

⁴ A similar change takes place in Canadian French *tʃuré* and *kʃuré* = *curé*.

As regards the medial position, the following considerations may aid to determine the history of the development. The Romans divided a word into syllables according to the acoustic impressions and the consciousness of articulation (*Articulationsgefühl*), and since they wrote HER-CU-LE and HER-CLE (SEELMANN, l. c. p. 144), it follows that medial *cl* produced the same impression on the ear as initial *cl*. Since initial *tl* did not exist in Latin, changes to *cl* can of course not be recorded for us. The only similar case is "stlataris sine c littera dicendum ab stlata," SEELMANN, l. c., p. 312; but for medial *tl* we have "martulus non marculus, vetulus non veclus, capitulum non capiclum," *ibid.* Other cases, where this same change is proved indirectly (as It. *fischiare* = Lat. *FISTULARE*), are given by SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, l. c., col. 129. VECLUM was pronounced with *cl* (*ɣohg*), and since OC'LUM gives the same result, it seems reasonable to suppose that in both words the original pronunciation of *cl* was identical. But even granting that in VECLUM the same general development took place which MEYER-LÜBKE posits for FACTUM, that is, "Enge + Verschluss statt Verschluss + Verschluss" (l. c., §462), the result would be JESPERSEN'S *ɣohg*, the initial sound of Eng. *you* and Germ. *ja*, and we should already be far from *χ*, the velar voiceless spirant. The change of *cl* > *ʃ* had been completed in France before the law came into operation according to which the final unaccented vowel (except *a*) had to fall; MEYER-LÜBKE, l. c., §314. The parasitic palatal which developed after *cl* had therefore a support here as well as in the initial position, and if JESPERSEN'S descriptions are correct, the change is of the simplest kind. *ɣohg* + *βii*^{ef} by a process of assimilation, changed to *ʃe* *ɣii*^g, which means that the divided articulation was shifted from the point of the tongue to the place where, before, the stop was made for *cl*. The point of the tongue is now not concerned in the articulation at all, and is resting against the lower teeth. In some Romance dialects *cl* has changed to *gl* (*dl*) under varying conditions. This however is a change taking place in the larynx, and does not affect the development in the mouth. All the different Romance forms can easily be explained in a

manner similar to those in initial position; Raetian again shows some very old forms; cf. *uedl*, *oredla*, *vedl*: MEYER-LÜBKE l. c., §490. Spanish *hijo* and *viejo* show that they both derive from forms with *ĭ*.

That this development was not foreign to the general tendency of French phonetics, is proved by the fact that a similar development is seen today in the JERSEY and GUERNSEY dialects. EGGERT, l. c., cites only *onlle*, *anlle* for *ongle*, *angle*. In the selections in the Guernsey dialect by CORBET, referred to above, the following examples in point occur; namely, *sercilleux*, *égllise*, *cercilles*. In the same dialects *l* after labials undergoes the same change; cf. *parapllie*, *blu* (*bleu*), *espllique*, *pllu* (*plu*), *flanc*, *cribble*, *sembllable*, *insaquiable*, and EGGERT, l. c., gives *blle* (*blé*) *plleume*, *flllu* (*fleur*), *fabelle*, *aimable*.

These cases, in a dialect which has preserved so many old forms, seem to render it reasonably certain that initial and medial *cl* did not materially differ from each other in their development.

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Studies in Literature and Style. By THEODORE W. HUNT, Ph. D. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. 1890. 8vo, pp. xiv, 503.

We are inclined to regard this book, in its essential characteristics, as an advance upon Professor HUNT's previous works in the same or in kindred fields of study. His grasp of the subject is firmer, his sympathies broader, his appreciation of the æsthetic phases of literature keener, his whole tone and spirit more catholic.

Nothing could be purer than the ethical quality that prevades the volume, nothing more apposite than the protest against the ruthless materialism which has in great measure effaced ideals and destroyed idealism in American life and American literature. We are especially gratified to note the discriminating tribute to the late Principal SHAIRP, whose 'Aspects of Poetry,' 'Studies in Poetry and Philosophy,' etc., exhibit the analytical temper of the Scottish intellect, blended with

the artistic grace of NEWMAN and the austere righteousness of THOMAS ARNOLD. Every such contribution as the work before us, is an additional proof of the increasing range and expanding influence that marks the progress of English scholarship in America. Twenty years ago such books were an impossibility. The 'Lectures' of HENRY REED, in whose harmonious character were displayed some of those ideal qualities of which the scholarly imagination but dreamed, had no successor in literature, as none in life.

"His soul was like a star and dwelt apart."

Those of us who can recall the complacent age of JAMISON, QUACKENBOS, and CAMPBELL, or to whom the faint tradition of BLAIR and KAMES has descended, may in the light of such contemporary criticism as that of MINTO, SHAIRP, SAINTSBURY, HUNT and PATTISON, echo the apostolic note of triumph—"old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new." We cordially commend Professor HUNT's book, in its main features, to students of literature, as well as to university and collegiate instructors, to all, indeed, who are imbued with the culture sense and are eager for its nurture and development.

While bestowing this general approval, we cannot fail to specify some blemishes and imperfections which may be easily removed in a subsequent edition. In the first chapter (page 26) we discover that Professor HUNT has fallen into the common and seemingly invincible error of ascribing to BUFFON an expression which, so far as we are aware, he never uttered, at least in its prevalent and wide-spread form. If BUFFON ever said "the style is the man himself," ("le style c'est l'homme,") it does *not* occur in his famous discourse upon style delivered in 1753, upon the occasion of his formal reception as a member of the French Academy. Yet MARK PATTISON in his essay upon MUVETUS PATER in his study of style, BARTLETT in his 'Dictionary of Quotations' and, stranger than all, SAINTSBURY in his 'Short History of French Literature' (page 498), have adopted the common perversion of BUFFON's famous *dictum*. The style of BUFFON is marked by inflation and by flamboyant touches characteristic of the man, and, in a

measure, characteristic of his era. In order to bring out the correct meaning of an utterance which even in the consciousness of scholars is at variance with its true and proper form, we insert the context, taken from the closing passages of the Discourse. "Les ouvrages bien écrits seront les seuls qui passeront à la postérité. La quantité des connaissances, la singularité des faits, la nouveauté même des découvertes, ne sont pas de sûrs garants de l'immortalité; si les ouvrages qui les contiennent ne roulent que sur de petits objets, s'ils sont écrits sans goût, sans noblesse et sans génie, ils périront, parce que les connaissances, les faits et les découvertes s'enlèvent aisément, se transportent, et gagnent même à être mis en œuvre par des mains plus habiles. Ces choses sont hors de l'homme; le style est de l'homme même.* The purpose is to show that all external influences or elements, such as rarity of discovery, accumulation of facts, skill in research, are not necessary guarantees of immortality; these are from without, they are things apart; the style is *of the man*, it alone is individual, it alone reveals the soul within. 'The style' may be 'the man'; this, however, is not what BUFFON said. The comparative neglect of natural history and the lack of a chastened style, such as marked the discussion of classical or literary themes, induced BUFFON's effort to secure for his favorite subject the fascination and the perpetuity which grace of diction confers even upon topics that fail in essential interest or primary importance. Had BUFFON lived in the auspicious age of AGASSIZ, HUXLEY and DARWIN, the criticism, in so far as it related to his own sphere of science, would have been devoid of application or significance.

We are confident that Professor HUNT, with LANGLEY, CHAUCER and SKELTON before him, does not admit the claim made for himself by HALL in the familiar lines written with an eye upon his contemporary, JOHN MARSTON, whose satires did not appear until just after HALL's were issued:

"I first adventure with foolhardy might
To tread the steps of perilous despite,
I first adventure, follow me who list,
And he the second English satirist."

The reference on page 61 to the grave of COLERIDGE in Westminster Abbey, is, we are

*The italics are the present writer's.

confident, a mere inadvertence, as COLERIDGE died, and is buried, at Highgate.—We find no reference to the works of WALTER PATER, especially his stimulating essay on style, and his discussion of the classical and romantic elements in literature. Each of these is full of suggestion to the student of literary evolution. There is also no recognition of HUGH S. LEGARE, the friend of TICKNOR, a stylist of no mean order, a scholar whose life was a consecration to those idealizing humanities whose claims are everywhere recognized both justly and generously by Prof. HUNT.

On page 160 occurs this remarkable utterance: "How much more pacific and graceful MILTON would have been in his political writings, had he written his poetry first." It is a notable literary fact that MILTON produced none of his formal political polemics until the beginning of the Civil War (1642); before this time he had written the "Hymn on the Nativity," "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," "Comus," "Arcades," "Lycidas,"—the last of these in 1637. "Paradise Lost," "Paradise Regained," and his poetical valedictory, "Samson Agonistes," did not appear until after the Stuart Restoration, when MILTON had withdrawn from political activity and the Puritan cause had fallen on "evil tongues and evil times." It is perhaps not presenting the matter in too strong a light to affirm that nearly all of MILTON's most ideal and artistic poetry—we do not overlook his magnificent services in the purification and exaltation of the sonnet—was produced years before he had assumed the rôle of a polemic, at least in prose, or had enjoyed more than a prevision of the "Areopagitica," the "Eikonoklastes," or the "Defence of the People of England." Then too, what more acrimonious assault was ever made upon contemporary polity in Church and State, than MILTON's "Lycidas"? Draped in allegory, veiled in the elaborate conceits, the matured artificiality of Italo-Latin poetry, such as MILTON had assiduously mastered, it is a magnificent invective against Laudianism on the one hand and the policy illustrated by WENTWORTH on the other. It is the agonized but defiant note of the Puritan spirit, glorified by all the splendor of consummate art. The pre-

lude to those trumpet tones, "alas, too few," in the grand sonnet of 1655, upon the massacre of the Vaudois.

The usefulness of the book, as well as its interest, might be increased, we think, by an endeavor to describe not merely the style of authors but the style of our great epochs—the characteristic manner of the several schools prevailing during these epochs. The transmission of influence, the conservation of literary force in special directions from age to age, the derivation and the reproduction of style, are topics rich in interest, though none of them has thus far been explained with critical scrutiny or by the application of scientific method. The connection between the terse utterances of EMERSON and the quaint pithiness of BACON'S 'Essays' is referred to by Prof. HUNT, but what is the element of community between the New England sage and the Jacobean Chancellor? History and psychology are agencies by which the process of illumination may be associated, but neither has been availed of except in limited and imperfect measure. The evolution of English prose from ALFRED to ADDISON has not been traced with scientific or historic thoroughness. We see the result, the process is veiled from us. Is not our modern prose style the continuous growth of a thousand years? How can it be said to begin with the Restoration, with TEMPLE, SWIFT, SHAFTESBURY, DRYDEN, or even with ADDISON and STEELE? The latinized prose style, fashioned during the sixteenth century, was an exotic; it came as part of the great wave of classical influence during the Renaissance—an influence that affected the vocabulary as well as the syntax. It could not be assimilated, notwithstanding its isolated and extraordinary manifestations of grandeur and power; it died out in the golden cadence of SIR THOMAS BROWNE, reappearing only to die again in the latinized diction of SAMUEL JOHNSON. All these and a number of other topics, which here

Are given in outline and no more,

may be properly included in the scope of such a work as Professor HUNT'S. The style of

NEWMAN alone is deserving of a special study; the same is true of CARLYLE. We find no reference to SIR JAMES STEPHEN, whose essays on WHITEFIELD, R. H. FROUDE, WILBERFORCE, RICHARD BAXTER, LUTHER, "Port Royal and the Port Royalists," "IGNATIUS LOYOLA and his Associates," entitle him to be ranked among the most graceful stylists of this century.

On page 202 we note a sentence very similar in structure to those selected by the grammarians of a former age as illustrations of 'False Syntax.' "CERVANTES, in his superb caricature of the knight-errantry of the Middle Ages, has no superior in this direction, whose exquisite pleasantry is partially reproduced in the pages of BUTLER'S 'Hudibras.'" Despite all that SIDNEY has said in regard to the merits of an uninflected, as compared with an inflected tongue, we have in this character of sentence an example of the peculiar vagueness and obscurity that it is sometimes impossible to avoid in the most carefully constructed sentences of an analytical speech. The passage in question can be improved only by dissolution and reformation; relative and antecedent are at variance—reconciliation is attainable only by reconstruction.—Nor do we think that the mature judgment and discriminating taste of our author will allow the unfortunate phrase, "he fairly gets down upon all fours" (page 289), to survive the purgatorial offices of a second edition.

These suggestions are offered in no spirit of cavil or censoriousness. We repeat our commendation of the work; the tone is scholarly and salutary, the ethical plane is high, the protest of the author against a vulgar and overweening materialism, most just and rational. The book is one of those that "make for righteousness"; its aim and purpose is to recall us to that spiritual and ideal conception of literature from which "the stream of tendency" in American life and development has been impelling us farther and farther away.

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Minna von Barnhelm oder Das Soldatenglück von G. E. LESSING. With an Introduction and Notes by SYLVESTER PRIMER, Ph. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1890.

This is the latest volume, in the German line, of Heath's Modern Language Series, and an excellent one it is. The editor says in the preface: "I have endeavored to apply those principles of text-criticism which have long been recognized as standard in commentaries on Greek and Latin text-books. Modern languages can never take the first place in 'classic training' until their classical productions are edited with the accuracy and scholarship bestowed upon the classics of Greece and Rome." He has been quite successful in his effort. With the Putnams' texts, such as HART'S 'Goethe's Prose' and WHITE'S 'Lessing's Prose,' with WOLSTENHOLME'S 'Riehl's 'Culturgeschichtliche Novellen,' with THOMAS'S 'Goethe's Tasso,' and with this edition of Germany's greatest comedy, we seem to have entered upon a new era of suitably and scientifically edited German classics. LESSING'S 'Minna von Barnhelm,' though edited again and again at home and abroad, has never been so well edited before. BUCHHEIM'S notes to most of his texts are too full. They translate too much, and too often do the thinking for the student. They remind one of ANTHON'S Greek text-books and seem prepared for pupils without a teacher, for the general reader, and for crammers for examinations in England. PRIMER'S notes do not suffer from these faults. He shows excellent judgment. Moreover, he is painstaking, conscientious, unflinching, when he meets a difficulty; and modest, as when he interprets *sich bedanken* (p. 109, l. 5) 'to decline with thanks' and says, "I am aware, however, that the authorities are against me." Like WOLSTENHOLME, he has a strong regard for, and appreciation of, the untranslatable, which GOETHE says we must reach,—that precious *on ne sait quoi* so hard to catch in a foreign language and so untransferable into another tongue. It is the bird in the bush. Literal translation is—as Mr. LOWELL has called it—the bird in the hand. The spoken language of a great comedy which faithfully reflects life, handled

by a genius like LESSING, is not easy to translate or to annotate. It contains a great many 'birds in the bush'—idioms, peculiar turns of the dialogue, modal adverbs, subjunctives, archaisms and provincialisms—that are very hard to catch and confine in a translation. In fact, many annotators, to say nothing of the general reader, fail to catch more than a glimpse of these *rarae aves*.

The text of this edition is BOXBERGER'S in KÜRSCHNER'S 'National-Litteratur.' Certain coarse remarks of Just about the landlord's daughter at the end of Act I have been rightly enough omitted. BOXBERGER'S foot-notes are retained. They do not look well where they are, and one might wish they had been omitted.

The introduction, of about sixty pages, consists of a biography of LESSING and a critical analysis of the play. In the biography is inserted a sketch of the progress of German literature from OPITZ to LESSING, of the condition of the German stage, and of the intellectual development of the people during this period. This part of the introduction might better have formed a separate section. As it stands, it cuts the biography in two. The introduction would also have looked less formidable and heavy, if on the right hand page there had been running titles such as "Biography," "Analysis of Play," etc. The biography is so well done, that the editors of other works of LESSING in this series will need only to refer the student to this volume, which is very properly the first, containing, as it does, the author's most popular work.

At the end is a Lessing-bibliography of the works the editor has had occasion to draw from. Of course he controlled all essential sources. Students will readily appreciate the extracts on LESSING, from HEINE'S 'Über Deutschland' in BUCHHEIM'S 'Heine's Prose,' and from LOWELL'S essay on LESSING in 'Among my Books' I, pp. 291-348.

After carefully going over the Notes I have only the following brief list to which exception might be taken:

P. 75, ll. 17, 19. Why should *Er* be called "blunt" when we have just been told that "towards the end of the seventeenth century (and in LESSING'S own time) the *Er* and *Sie* of the singular were considered more polite

than *Du* and *Ihr* (when persons are not intimate)?"

P. 76, l. 4. GRIMM's Dictionary sub '*lauern*' 4*a* is better authority than BUCHHEIM, who is quoted at length.

P. 76, l. 30-31. The sense of "dry" in *nüchtern* seems far-fetched, as well as the remark that "in Just's mind thirst is provocative of piety." The choice ought to be left us between *nüchtern*="sober," that is, not having had a drop to drink, and "without breakfast," "on an empty stomach," that is, having had neither to eat nor to drink. Prof. PRIMER is a little severe upon Just anyway. He says Just is "from the dregs of society" (p. 70). Just is honest, faithful, and kind to beasts—good qualities, as the world goes.

P. 95, ll. 27, 28. Why would *unser zwei einem* be a more proper expression than *ihrer zwei einem*? Werner means "two to one," "two men lie in wait for one." It would seem the third person plural is quite in place.

P. 121, l. 28. *Mit* is probably a "bird in the bush." It does not mean 'also' here. That is pretty clear. I doubt whether it ever has superlative force. GRIMM's Dictionary sub '*mit*' i, 3, does not warrant that statement. If "taken" were supplied in English, *mit* might be translated here by 'along.'

P. 141, l. 3. *Wir wären allein* is to our mind a species of potential subjunctive of the kind that may be called the "guarded" or "diplomatic" subjunctive. So are the subjunctives pp. 93, l. 4; 119, l. 17; 157, l. 20. "Es ist mit unserem Coniunctiv ein wunderlich Ding," says HILDEBRAND.

P. 160, l. 11. This note on *Vormittage* puts implicit trust in LEHMANN's statement concerning "Dehnung auf *e*" in his '*Lessing's Sprache*,' p. 197. LEHMANN jumbles together old *jo*-stems (for example, *Glücke*); old weak substantives and adjectives (for example, *Herze*, *Herre*); adverbs in *-e* (for example, *gerne*, *feste*, *balde*), and calls all these *e*'s "Dehnungen." *Vormittage*, as is hinted at by HEYNE in GRIMM's Dictionary sub '*Mittag*' 2*b*, and as is roundly stated by LEXER sub '*Nachmittag*,' is nothing but "zusammengerücktes" *vor* and *Mittage*, which is entitled to the *-e* as dative sign. I remember hearing, in dialects, *vormittage* and *nachmittage* with-

out a preposition. When the compound nouns *der Vormittag*, *Nachmittag* became established with their proper accent, they may have changed the accent of *vor Mittage* to *Vormittage*. Present good usage may require *Vormittag* here, but the editor's right to drop the *-e* is very questionable. Cf. GOETHE's '*Faust*,' i, 2903-4. (Weimar ed.):

Verzeiht die Freiheit die ich genommen,
Will Nachmittage wiederkommen.

If LEHMANN is wrong, then Professor PRIMER's remark about *gewohne* in l. 15, p. 92, will not hold good. "The final *-e* is the *-e* so often attached to the nominative of substantives by LESSING." *Gewohn* and *gewohne* are found in the literary language. The latter is claimed (first by GRAFF, I think) to be common in dialects; for example, in Berlin. Whether this *-e* is adverbial or flexional, or due to association with the noun, I am not now prepared to say. O. H. G. *giwona*, M. H. G. *gewone* are strong feminine nouns; also the O. S. weak adjective *giwono*, M. H. G. *gewone*. The dialect form *gewohne* is quite appropriate in Werner's mouth, and there is no reason for changing it into the standard and common hybrid *gewohnt*, as many editors have done.

There are misprints on p. 99, l. 21; p. 170, l. 23; p. 224, l. 24; p. 227, l. 18 (*über einer Sache nachdenken* should be *über eine Sache*). On p. 32 should not "preceding" be "following"?

In conclusion, mention should be made of one more excellent feature of the notes; namely, that they are not full of grammar. There are references to JOYNES-MEISSNER, WHITNEY, and the undersigned.

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A Study of Ben Jonson. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. New York: Worthington and Co., 1889.

If the old and threadbare saying, "good poets make bad critics," ever had need of another refutation, we may certainly find it here. Those who have learned to know and to love the poetry of Mr. SWINBURNE, have long since recognized the brilliancy of his prose, and the high rank which he has won for himself as a critic in his admirable treatment

of such of the mighty Elizabethans as CHAPMAN, MARLOWE and the master-poet himself. It is rarely that we can get anything from the greatest or the least of our Shakespearians but a sullen neglect of BEN JONSON. Each one of them has taken that dreadful utterance to DRUMMOND, that "Shakespeare wanted art," with certain other replies, begot of the generous warmth of Canary and the cold blood of an unfriend, as sufficient to make JONSON the mortal foe of every righteous critic of SHAKESPEARE that shall thenceforth wield pen for the general mystification of mankind. JONSON's lines of fervid praise and admiration, as worthy of the generous heart that prompted them as of the mighty master they sought to praise, are all but clean forgot. It is, then, with no little interest that we listen to the opinions of so prominent a Shakespearian critic as Mr. SWINBURNE.

There is always about the critical opinions of Mr. SWINBURNE a delightful air of candor and originality. He ties little to the traditions of his kind, although avoiding that far more reprehensible extreme which starts out with the express purpose of reversing all previous decisions. Between the limitations that come with the purely judicial mind on the one hand, and the warm enthusiasm of partizanship on the other, we cannot hesitate to prefer the latter, if for no better reason than that its errors are more readily recognizable. Partizanship has done much for the truth; it is the frigid impartiality that "deprecates great virtues and extenuates great vices" that too often leaves us in the end little the wiser. There can be no question as to Mr. SWINBURNE; look upon almost any page we may, he is perfectly ingenuous in showing us his likes and dislikes on matters kindred or foreign. If anyone happens to have forgotten whether Mr. SWINBURNE agrees with the late Mr. MATTHEW ARNOLD's superlative estimate of BYRON, let him read this statement of the relative position of JONSON among poets: "Beside the towering figure of this Enceladus the statue of DRYDEN seems but that of an ordinary man, the statue of BYRON—who indeed can only be classed among giants by a somewhat licentious or audacious use of metaphor—seems little higher

than a dwarf's." If anyone is in doubt as to Mr. SWINBURNE's position as to Puritanism, let him read the following on "the immortal figure of Rabbi Busy" in "Bartholomew Fair": "In that absolute and complete incarnation of Puritanism full justice is done to the merits while full justice is done upon the demerits of the barbarian sect from whose inherited and infectious tyranny this nation is as yet but imperfectly delivered."

"A Study of Ben Jonson" falls naturally into three parts: JONSON as a dramatist, as a writer of miscellaneous verses, and as a prose author. In each of these, the critic has considered the author in the broad spirit of modern criticism, while faithfully performing his task by a consideration of each work in order. Mr. SWINBURNE is of the opinion that it was the strength of JONSON's morality, the force of his conscience, in other words, that formed one of the chief limitations of his art. No one will seriously disagree with this, if the expression be but explained: indeed there can be little doubt but that JONSON, who studied his TACITUS so closely that he could boast with reason that there was not a line in any utterance of his "Tiberius" not founded upon the authority of the ancient historian, is a better antiquarian than dramatist. In searching for accuracy of detail JONSON lost his grasp of reality, and his Sejanus, Tiberius, and Cataline stalk before us, historically impeccable monstrosities. Who would not give the master's Cassius or Anthony for "the noblest Roman of them all"? The truth is, JONSON always tried too hard; the stamp—rather the brand—of effort is on nearly everything he wrote. Indeed, it is for this very quality of conscientious attention to craftsmanship, that we find JONSON always at his best in the impersonation of a humor. Who will not remember Bobadil, Tucca Zeal-in-the-Land Busy, each based on a humor or, in modern parlance, upon "the vivification of characteristic"? Again, it is for this quality of conscientious attention to craftsmanship that JONSON is unquestionably the best constructor of plot in our literature. We are especially glad to find Mr. SWINBURNE putting "Volpone" on a plane with the "Alchemist,"—a judgment to which not a few admirers of JONSON will subscribe, although long deterred

from the expression of such an opinion by the overawing *dictum* of COLERIDGE as to the "Alchemist." The "Staple of News," too, has been rescued from the comparative oblivion into which the sweeping condemnation of DRYDEN long since plunged this really 'splendid comedy'; whilst the undue estimation of the "New Inn," the result of CHARLES LAMB's judicious selection, is moderately corrected. It is for independent judgments such as these, in which the value of "opinion untrammelled by the authority of great names" manifests itself, that our critic deserves our utmost gratitude.

Mr. SWINBURNE does adequate justice to JONSON's series of graceful and lightly poetical masques, upon which the poet assuredly lavished all the wealth of his intellect and energy; and devotes the second part of his "study" to the miscellaneous works of JONSON, including the really notable collections, the "Forest" and "Underwoods." The critic calls attention to JONSON's extraordinary versatility as witnessed in these poems, to his "energy and purity, clearness and sufficiency, simplicity and polish"; distinguishes his chief blemish as stiffness rather than the proverbial ruggedness; and adds: "if ruggedness of verse is a damaging blemish, stiffness of verse is a destructive infirmity." Mr. SWINBURNE assigns to JONSON for his miscellaneous poems no more than a third or fourth rank among Elizabethans.

Finally, a considerable portion of the whole book is devoted to a consideration of that extraordinary "collection of notes or observations on men and morals, on principles and on facts," JONSON's 'Explorata' or 'Discoveries.' Mr. SWINBURNE makes the following just comparison between Lord BACON's famous 'Essays' and JONSON's 'Discoveries.' "The dry, curt style of the statement, docked and trimmed into sentences that are regularly snapped off or snipped down at the close of each deliverance, is as alien and as far from the fresh and vigorous spontaneity of the poet's as is the trimming and hedging morality of the essay on "Simulation and Dissimulation" from the spirit and instinct of the man who "of all things loved to be called honest." There can be no doubt of the entire truth of

this statement, extraordinary as it may appear to those unfamiliar with JONSON's admirable prose. Indeed it has long been a matter of wonder to the few that have ever read a word of JONSON's 'Discoveries' that this rich treasure of our literature, together with all its author's matchless dramatic achievements, should be suffered to lie practically unedited and corrupt, whilst edition after edition of the Baconian apothegms flood the markets with a crabbed style and a worldly morality.

We can not but feel that, taken all in all, Mr. SWINBURNE has done ample justice to one of the greatest names in the annals of our literature. He has done more: he has called attention to the superlative excellence of JONSON's prose, and has sought to explain that difficult problem, why the highest talent, immense learning, unusual versatility and Titanic industry, may be lavished on the work of a lifetime and yet give their possessor a place second to some reckless sonneteer who sings because he must. With all the dictator's matchless equipment, without doubt there was many an humble devotee new "sealed of the tribe of Ben," whose vernal offerings possessed not only "color, form, variety, fertility and vigor," but that last of the graces, fragrance itself. From the putative "The Case is Altered" to that graceful but broken torso, "The Sad Shepherd," we have a beautiful, diverse and well-wrought series, all cut from the same difficult quarry, all shaped with the design of an artist and wrought with the zeal and industry of a faithful craftsman. Whether the statue of the great Roman favorite is before us, the sardonic visage of "The Fox," or the sylvan tracery of some delicate masque, all is well conceived and carefully executed; but all is hewn out of the same unpromising material. It is rarely that we are cheated out of a sense of the weight and the color of stone.

FELIX E. SCHELLING.

University of Pennsylvania.

Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise en Belgique par J. STECHER, Professeur à l'Université de Liège, membre de l'Académie. Bruxelles: J. Lebègue & Cie, 1887. 8vo, pp. viii, 370.

Though this work appeared more than

three years ago and was then briefly noticed by the *Athenæum* in its half-yearly review of contemporary literature, we do not think it is too late to present it to the readers of MOD. LANG. NOTES; for we are convinced that it has lost nothing of its interest, and that it is still in every respect worthy of the attention of the literary world. Previously to Mr. STECHER there have been only two authors who have written, in French, histories of Dutch literature, M. ALBERDINGK THYM: 'De la littérature néerlandaise à ses différentes époques,' Amsterdam 1854; and M. SNELLAERT: 'Histoire de la littérature flamande' in the "National Library," published under the patronage of the government. But these two writers, treating of Dutch literature in general, have both neglected that part which belongs to the Flemish provinces of Belgium; and their works, which, moreover, are hardly abreast of the science of today, are now out of print. We have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that Mr. STECHER's work supplies a real want.

Mr. STECHER, who has occupied for nearly forty years the chair of French Literature in the University of Liège, has organized there, in addition, a course of lectures on the literature of the Netherlands, a course with which he has been intrusted for a number of years past. A literary man and a philologist, he is by professional experience and ability, as well as by personal studies, the man best qualified to write a critical history of Dutch literature in Belgium. Mr. STECHER has read and submitted to searching criticism all the works which have appeared on the subject in recent years; and he now gives us the result of his labors in a handsome volume of unquestionable literary value. To appreciate fully the wealth of matter so methodically arranged by the author, it will be sufficient to cast a glance over the index, which is worth copying here:

1. Les Origines. Le véritable point de départ;
2. Poésie narrative du Moyen Age flamand;
3. Versification thioise. Epopée bourgeoise;
4. Poésie des cloîtres. Romancero flamand;
5. La Poésie didactique;
6. Littérature dramatique au Moyen Age;

7. Littérature gnomique. Origine de la prose;
8. Les Rhétoriciens.—La Transition;
9. La Renaissance et la Réforme;
10. Les Flamands en Hollande.—La Littérature de l'Emigration;
11. L'Isolement;
12. La Décadence;
13. La Littérature flamande sous la domination française;
14. La Période d'Union Néerlandaise;
15. Indépendance et Renaissance.

It is easy to see from this analysis what an interesting and fertile study the work under review offers. We abstain from entering into details here and from drawing the attention of our readers to this or that part of the work: space would fail us. We will merely mention the remarkable chapters in which Mr. STECHER traces with a masterly hand the picture of the intense intellectual life of the Flemish people at the great epochs of their political history; when that valiant race was struggling with indomitable energy to acquire civil and political liberty, and when, later on, it was struggling for liberty of conscience. In conclusion, we see unfolded in all its exuberance the new intellectual and moral life of the Flemish provinces, which, after the lethargy caused by subjection to a foreign yoke, have in modern times given fresh proof of having recovered their liberty with the constitution of an independent Belgium—an awakening prepared, it is true, by the fifteen years of their union with the Netherlands of the North, under the sceptre of an enlightened prince.

More than once have we seen in English periodicals expressions of regret that works on Dutch subjects written in Dutch could not find so wide a circle of readers as they deserve, since a knowledge of the Dutch language is not sufficiently common with the reading public; it should, therefore, be particularly gratifying to scholars to receive a work of scientific character on Flemish Literature, written in excellent literary form in a language understood in every civilized country.

OSWALD ORTH.

Liège, Belgium.

THE NEW HIGH GERMAN
PHONETIC SYSTEM.

Grundlagen des neuhochdeutschen Lautsystems. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Schriftsprache im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert von KARL VON BÄHDER. Strassburg, Trübner: 1890. 8vo, pp. 284.

In this book another contribution to the solution of the complicated problem of the origin and basis of the Modern High German literary language has been added to those of BURDACH, KLUGE, and SOCIN. The author considers especially the phonetic side of the question and discusses in detail some of the more important phonological phenomena appearing in the formation of Modern High German. His task has been to state the dialectal relations as far as possible, and then trace the origin of the phonetic changes in Modern High German and sketch its history in the period in which the present sounds of the written language were in the main established. The investigation extends down to the appearance of the linguistic societies in the 17th century. The introduction affords us a survey of the outer form of the "common German language" in the 15th and 16th centuries, with special reference to the South German written language, which is very important for the phonetic form of the present literary language.

The Middle Ages could not produce a written language in the full sense of the word. The court-poetry of the 13th century did indeed employ a language which bore many characteristics of a written language. But there was no unity in its phonology, though certain dialectal forms were not admitted in rime. The vocabulary had a local coloring and admitted foreign elements, from the Netherlands and France, which were unknown to the popular language. In its syntax it had the stamp of a cultured language. It was, however, confined to narrow circles and could not claim universality. This poetic court-language, therefore, left only a few traces of itself in the later language when it disappeared in the 14th century. The roots of the New High German lie elsewhere. The official language employed in the chancellor's

office developed the first effectual activity toward the refinement of the written language. The classic Middle High German was a poetic language having but little influence upon prose, whereas the Modern High German began as prose and won its way later to the language of poetic literature. The language of the chancellor's office and official documents furnished not only the basis of Modern High German but gave it the unity of a phonetic system necessary for a written language. The chancellor's office performed for the German the same office that the press has performed for the English: it settled the spelling and prevented degeneration into untold dialectal differences. Not that all differences were excluded, but a norm was established which served to control in a measure the written language of the day. This official language preserved the older sounds and regulated them as far as possible; the official correspondence made it quite possible to do away with the worst dialectal peculiarities. In the last half of the 15th century this result had been nearly accomplished; the office of the imperial chancellor had the greatest influence, and this imperial chancellor's language began with Charles the Fourth. The great significance of the imperial official language consists in its influence upon the official language at other courts. The changes effected by the imperial official language began in the last decade of the 15th century.

The different dialects present five different tendencies in the "Common German": 1. Swabian-Bavarian (Augsburg); 2. Upper Rhenish (Basel, Strasburg); 3. Nurembergish; 4. Middle Rhenish (Worms, Mainz, Frankfurt); 5. Upper Saxon (Leipsic, Wittenberg). The first and second are upper German, the fourth and fifth are middle German, the Nurembergish principally upper German, though in some points inclining to middle German and finally becoming wholly so. As basis of the present written language are the two middle German tendencies, of which one receives its significance as the language of Luther, the other as that of the official documents of the empire, and appearing in the print of the most important book-markets of the 16th century.

There are two important periods in the development of the printed (book) language, of which one extends back to 1530. In the first the language had a local character, but approached gradually the "Common German." In the second the book language has the features of the "Common German," and only a few local differences remain; but upper and middle German differ in many points. Middle German exerts an influence upon upper German so that the latter assimilates the form of the former. In the 15th century a greater unity in the written language was attained by the printing-press. At first the printers followed the official language of the chancellor's office, but later became independent. They had their dialectical differences, but strove to make their books as accessible as possible to the general public; hence they used the most common German. Munich, Ingolstadt, and especially Augsburg, became the principal seats of the presses.

The dialects of Basel, Strasburg, Nuremberg, and other places, have retained many of their older peculiarities and some of these peculiarities have found a home in the present language. However, Luther's language as found in his writings, especially in his Bible, forms the basis of the Modern High German written language. Luther deserves the praise of having put the final stamp upon the written language then in the process of formation. In his translation of the Bible he strove to give the language as wide-spread a popularity as possible, hence his care in selecting the best and most widely understood language in all Germany. This inclined strongly to the Middle German. With Opitz there came a certain conclusion in the development of the language, as he broke entirely with the obsolete and dialectical forms and accepted Luther's language with certain modifications. The efforts of the grammarians of the 16th century contributed much to the unity of the written language, and the German dictionaries, already begun in the 15th century and in the first decades of the 16th, had a great influence upon the unification of the Modern High German.

Under the head of "Grammatische Abhandlungen" our author treats of the phonology of

the language. Here he discusses the signs employed to indicate the length or the shortness of the vowels, and traces the exceptions back to that stage in the language when custom fluctuated. The long discussion of the two vowel sounds *ā* and *e* is very interesting. The conclusion is as follows: "a natural result arising from the employment of *ā* according to etymological principles, as is now done in the written language, is that the original differences of the *e*-sounds are constantly disappearing in the pronunciation, which tends to conform to the writing. Now, the short vowels, both *e* and *ā*, are usually pronounced open, the long *e* and *ā* close. This pronunciation is exactly the opposite of the original one in middle Germany and came from the Netherlands, where the educated are less dependent on the dialect; nevertheless it bids fair to become the only accepted one, as it closes a long development in this direction."

The chapters on *o* from Mid. H. G. *ō*; *ö* from Mid. H. G. *e*; *ü* from Mid. H. G. *i*; *o* (*ö*) from Mid. H. G. *u* (*ü*); the umlaut of *u* in Mod. H. G.; and on the *au* and *äu*, are not only interesting but also instructive in the study of vowel changes. In the last case the *au* or *äu*, as *kauen wiederkauen*, *däuen verdauen*, *Gau*, or *Gäu*, is due to double forms in the older language. At present *äu* corresponds to a Mid. H. G. *ā* or *ou*; *au* to a Mid. H. G. *iu* or *öu*.

It would be impossible to mention all the interesting points discussed so fully and thoroughly in this book. We can only recommend those who are especially interested in the development of Mod. H. G. to make a careful study of it, believing they will be well repaid for their labor.

SYLVESTER PRIMER.

Providence, R. I.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN AND THE
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—May I say a few words to prevent possible misunderstandings of the table in Dr. LEARNED's article, in your April number, on

the application of the phonetic system of the American Dialect Society (A. D. S.) to Pennsylvania German (P. G.)?

The A. D. S. symbols can not be exactly defined in the terminology of Visible Speech except for individuals or for particular localities where persons may be found who have had the necessary training in phonetics. Exact definitions, which are very desirable, will fix dialect variation better than the present "practical though necessarily imperfect" A. D. S. symbols can do, and when definition is possible the greater the accuracy the better. Mr. GRANDGENT's paper read at the last meeting of the Modern Language Association shows the kind of study needed and also some of the difficulties in the way of exact definition.

In the table on p. 119 (cols. 237-238) should not "mid-mixed-wide" be "low-front-wide"? The A. D. S. *æ* (not *ae*), representing the sound of *a* in *hat*, *mad*, could hardly be call "mid-mixed-wide." The A. D. S. *ou* was proposed for the diphthonged sound common in *so*, *no*, *dough*, etc., as more convenient to write and print than *ô*. If necessary it can be written *ôu* to distinguish it from a diphthong *ou* the first part of which is *o* in *not*. This latter diphthong is the one meant by *ou* in the table, p. 120. On the same page, for *t+s* and *k+s*, read *ts* and *ks*, and instead of *z* in *dz* the A. D. S. sign is a sort of tailed *z*, resembling a figure 3.

I do not suppose that Dr. LEARNED's intention was to define the A. D. S. symbols, but only to show that they could be used—with some additional signs which will be provided as occasion calls for them—to write a non-English dialect, an application of the system which is of interest and illustrates what may be done in the future.

E. S. SHELDON.

Harvard University.

"EARLY ENGLISH."

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—Permit me to reply to Professor COOK's inquiry in No. 5, (vol. v, p. 155) of your journal, that in the catalogue of this University the term "Early English" is used to denote Old English (Anglo-Saxon) and Middle English as far as CHAUCER inclusive, say 1400. It is very true that there is no agreement

as to the terminology of the periods of English, and I despair of ever seeing a consistent terminology employed. The term "Middle English" seems almost as variously used as "Early English," and even here, while some place CHAUCER as Late Middle English, others assign him to Early Modern English. Dr. MURRAY's arrangement by centuries is, perhaps, as good as any other, although it multiplies periods unnecessarily.

If we could agree to close the Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, period at 1150, the Middle English at 1400, and call the language since 1400 Modern English, we might at least approach uniformity. If more sub-divisions were desired, Early Middle English might denote 1150 to 1300, and Late Middle English 1300 to 1400; Early Modern English 1400 to 1600, and Late Modern English since 1600, thus discarding "Early English" and the Transition Periods in the terminology. —Respectfully submitted to a vote.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

University of Virginia.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SCRIBES OF BEOWULF.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—In your April issue certain statements were made concerning my article in the preceding number on "The Differences between the Scribes of Beowulf." Of these I wish to say a few words.

The question of the origin of the "Beowulf" can hardly be considered as conclusively settled. TEN BRINK uses these words in closing his argument, p. 241: "Man möge von den in diesem Kapitel ausgestellten Untersuchungen halten was man wolle." I did not wish to discuss the new hypothesis, and so, perhaps unwisely, used the language of the old.

Again, the statement that "dialectal differences are systematically arranged in TEN BRINK's work," tends to give the erroneous impression that he has exhausted the differences between the scribes. Such is not the case. He has not given a single list that does not contain forms used by both A and B, although the list on p. 240 contains but few forms used by A. This list, however, closes with "u. s. w." TEN BRINK's lists were

selected, apparently, to substantiate his dialect hypotheses, not to show differences between scribes. Indeed, in the earlier discussion, wherein by the use of *io*, *io*, he seeks to establish that B was more faithful to his text than A, he omits, if I mistake not, the fact that A uses *io* five times, *io* three times. Neither is my list, although containing many more words, exhaustive, as I gathered it incidentally in the course of a more extended investigation. Further, as regards the leveling of *p* to *ð*, it is asserted that this has no significance, and reference is made to §199 ff. of SIEVERS' 'Old English Grammar.' SWEET agrees with SIEVERS. Nevertheless, it may be well to collect further data in view of the fact that it seems to be established, "that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the two sounds of initial *th* were already in existence as they now are, and in the same words" (F. A. BLACKBURN in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. iii, pp. 46 ff.).

I decline to accept "The Battle of Maldon" as evidence, since WÜLKER in his 'Grundriss' says concerning it (iii, §330), "1726 druckte Hearne das Bruchstück. Bald darauf (1731) ging die Handschrift beim Brande der Cottoniana zu grunde, so dass wir jetzt auf Hearne's Druck aufgewiesen sind." In such a matter as final *p* what confidence can be placed in a copy made in 1721 and, since the MS. was burned five years later, probably never collated with the original?

CHAS. DAVIDSON.

Belmont, Cal.

PASSY'S 'LE FRANÇAIS PARLÉ.'

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—In the March issue (vol. v, p. 93) of your journal you mention PAUL PASSY'S 'Le français parlé' in a way that calls for some remarks. No one is more convinced than I that the best teaching of French pronunciation must be based on phonetic treatment and that PAUL PASSY is perfectly right in his method and principle of notation. But he has taken his ideas of practical pronunciation from the speech that prevails on the Paris boulevards instead of from that of the mass of educated people. You will undoubtedly grant that a teacher of English pronunciation who should

instruct his pupils to pronounce 'ospital and 'air instead of 'hospital and 'hair,' because he has heard this in London, would be egregiously in the wrong. Still, *mutatis mutandis*, that is exactly what PAUL PASSY is guilty of. Then what shall we say of his notation *les=lé*, which is not only contrary to usage, contrary to the prescription of every treatise on pronunciation (including the last grammar of DA COSTA recently published for the schools of the city of Paris), but even classed as something characteristic of the pronunciation of Southern Frenchmen, whose peculiarities cannot be called good French. I am sorry to find fault with the practical part of a book that under different conditions might have rendered an invaluable service.

ALPHONSE N. VAN DAELL.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

TEXT-BOOKS FOR PREPARATORY SCHOOLS.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—The new program setting forth the requirements in Modern Languages for admission to New England colleges will surely work a greatly needed improvement in the methods of teaching; the brief statement it contains will have all the power of an enactment in that direction.

The subordinate question of text-books for reading has been necessarily curtailed, yet was not left untouched. The framers of the program had many pertinent things to say on the subject. Their ideas, though not expressed for want of room, are too valuable to be lost for those whom it may concern. Here they are in a nut-shell:

Text-books for reading ought to have certain qualities: a.—They should be edited by persons who really know the languages in which the books are written; b.—Interesting, though short introductions relating to the books and the authors of them, are desirable; c.—The notes ought to be very carefully worked out, and be not only (1) explanatory, but also, (2) suggestive in every direction, (3) so framed as to quicken the powers of observation of the student, and (4) conducive to the right interpretation of the thoughts of the author.

This is an addendum to the program which,

it is hoped, will have the force of by-law; for it must be confessed that most books hitherto edited for the special purpose of giving reading matter in the modern languages are woefully wanting in the above qualities: blunders and misinterpretations are frequent; the notes are too often worked out in a slovenly way, inaccurate or irrelevant, never inviting reflection, never leading to original observation—let alone the total absence of literary interpretation, or commentary on the thoughts of the writer.

It is well known that books of any kind are primarily brought out by the publishers because it is thought there is money in them. This is as it should be; yet it seems that excellency, or, if this be unattainable, efforts to approach it in editing, will in the long run be more profitable than a short-lived interest based on local and personal considerations.

A. DE ROUGEMONT.

Chautauqua University.

BRIEF MENTION.

A second edition has appeared of GASTON PARIS' 'Littérature française au moyen âge' (cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES iv, p. 62). The author has here turned to account all the rectifications coming from outside sources, while of his own work of revision on the book he says: "je n'ai presque pas passé un jour sans y apporter quelque retouche, m'efforçant de le faire profiter de mes lectures ou de mes réflexions." The bibliographical notes, which form so valuable a feature of the manual, have been brought down to date, and a *Tableau chronologique* of French literature, from its beginning to the middle of the fourteenth century, has been appended. The importance and interest of this addition may be appreciated, when it is borne in mind that it is the first published attempt to group in chronological order the productions of the earliest period. The bulk of the work as it originally appeared has not been noticeably enlarged, but small accretions to numerous paragraphs constitute a genuine gain in completeness and accuracy.

Another work of considerable importance, in the Italian field, is the: 'Vocabolario etimologico italiano' of FRANCESCO ZAM-

BALDI. (Città di Castello S. Lapi, 1889). This is by far the most complete treatment which the subject has yet had. The labors of DIEZ, CAIX, ASCOLI, D'OVIDIO, TEZA and the rest, have been made use of by the author and combined with detailed investigations of his own. The work fairly, if not entirely, represents the present status of this difficult and important subject. The volume is large, comprising 810 octavo pages (1440 columns, besides 90 pages of index) of particularly closely printed matter. The arrangement is admirable. Every word is treated in the group to which it belongs, which sometimes makes an article cover many pages. This however causes no difficulty, as the index (in which we have as yet discovered no omissions) indicates the page and subdivision of a page upon which any desired word is treated. This system has the advantage of showing at a glance all the derivatives or cognates of a given form. The book is exceedingly opportune and valuable; among other reasons because it brings together a vast amount of matter formerly scattered and not always controllable.

PERSONAL.

Mr. JOHN D. EPES has been called to the chair of English in Centre College (Danville, Ky.). Mr. EPES is a graduate of Randolph-Macon College (A. B. 1883); for three years after his graduation he taught English and Latin in the Wesleyan Female College (Virginia), and during the past two years he has pursued advanced courses in English, German and History at the Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. THOMAS McCABE (cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. iv, p. 225) has been called, as Associate Professor of Romance Languages, to Byrn Mawr College, Pa.

Dr. JOHN E. MATZKE (cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES vol. iv, p. 226) has been called to the chair of Romance Languages in the University of Indiana (Bloomington).

Mr. HENRY R. LANG, who was inadvertently spoken of in the April number (col. 254) as connected with the Friends' School, Providence, R. I., is Instructor in the Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.

JOURNAL NOTICES.

REVUE BLEUE. NO. 4.—Rod, E., M. de Goncourt et ses amis littéraires.—Maurel, A., Dans le monde des lettres, "l'Intuitivisme."—**NO. 5.**—Gebhart, E., Le mysticisme de Dante.—Filon, A., Courrier littéraire.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Vieux contre Jeunes.—**NO. 6.**—Monin, H., Etudes révolutionnaires.—La Chanson historique pendant la Révolution de 1787 à 1791.—**Barine, Arède**, Les sermons de Savonarole.—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le Monde des lettres, Petits Papiers.—**NO. 7.**—Berr, E., Le journalisme contemporain.—Le reportage et les reporters.—**Bourgeois, E.**, Les associations françaises d'étudiants.—**Labrone, E.**, Cyrano... de Paris.—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, un poète converti.—**NO. 8.**—Laujol, H., Correspondance de Gustave Flaubert.—**Farges, L.**, La poésie décadente, ses origines et ses tendances.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres.—**M. Augustin Filon**, Contes du Centenaire.—**NO. 9.**—Laujol, H., Correspondance de Gustave Flaubert (fin).—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Une souscription.—**NO. 10.**—Bois, J., Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et l'occultisme moderne.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Au théâtre.—**NO. 11.**—Bigot, Charles, L'épiderme naturaliste.—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Zola intime.—**NO. 12.**—Valabregue, Ant., La poésie parisienne.—**Beauquier, Ch.**, Chansons du village.—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire. Emile Zola: la Bête humaine.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Un acquittement.—**NO. 13.**—Claretie, Léo, "Tripatouillages" d'autant: les Originaux de Fagan.—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Parallèle.—**NO. 14.**—Bigot, Ch., Psychologie naturaliste.—**Dide**, Les artistes littéraires.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Un préjugé.—**NO. 15.**—Janet, Paul, De la responsabilité philosophique. A propos du Disciple de M. Paul Bourget. I Le roman.—**Berr, E.**, Portraits contemporains. M. Edouard Drumont.—**Levy-Bruhl**, L'Allemagne littéraire et Napoléon I.—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Mysticisme.—**NO. 16.**—Janet, Paul, De la responsabilité philosophique. A propos du Disciple de M. Paul Bourget, II Le problème.—**Prévost, M.**, Un amour de Henri Heine.—**NO. 17.**—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire. Maxime Gaucher: Causeries littéraires.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Thèse.—**NO. 18.**—**Pressense, E. de**, Portraits contemporains. Le Père Hyacinthe.—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.—**NO. 19.**—**Marc le Goupils**, La question du Vau-de-Vire: Olivier Basselin et les insurrections normandes.—**Maurel, A.**, Dans le monde des lettres, Bilan théâtral.—**NO. 20.**—**Claretie, Léo**, Les deux "Mahomet."—**Filon, A.**, Courrier littéraire.

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